HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

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STUDIES

IN THE

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

BY

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apūrvaṃ yad vastu prathayati vinā kāraṇakalāṃ
jagad grāva-prakhyaṃ nija-rasa-varāt sārayati ca
kramāt prakhyòpākhyā-prasara-subhagaṃ bhāsayati tat
sarasvatyās tattvaṃ kavi-sahṛdayâkhyaṃ vijayatām

—Abhinavagupta

VOLUME I

CHRONOLOGY AND SOURCES

TO

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

PREFACE

An announcement was made long ago, in the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie*, of a treatise on Sanskrit Poetics and Metrics from the able pen of Professor Hermann Jacobi, which would perhaps have rendered the writing of this work superfluous. On being informed, however, that the learned Professor has now abandoned the project of writing it, I have ventured to set forth, in the following pages, the results of some of my researches in the subject, with the hope of drawing the attention of scholars to a discipline which has not yet been systematically investigated, but which, forming as it does the foundations of a study of Classical Sanskrit Poetry, is not without its importance in the general history of Sanskrit literature. These investigations were originally embodied in my thesis for the Doctorate of the University of London (1921); but the present publication, though not altogether divested of the form of a dissertation, has been so considerably altered, re-written and supplemented that it may be taken as an entirely new work.

My original intention was to write a comprehensive history of Sanskrit Poetics; but in the course of my studies I realised that the available materials were not enough for such an ambitious undertaking. In the following pages, however, I have attempted to approach the subject from the historical point

of view, instead of presenting a mere epitome of the different topics of Alaṃkāra, as Regnaud's *Rhétorique Sanskrite* (1884) does. Presuming a general knowledge of the details of Sanskrit Poetics, which may be gathered from any standard text-book or even from Regnaud's useful résumé, and taking the representative writers (and, as far as necessary, the neglected commentators and so-called minor writers), I have made an attempt to trace the development of the discipline through its fairly long and varied course of history which covers more than a thousand years. The first volume of the work, therefore, deals with the preliminary but important question of chronology and sources, on the basis of which the second volume proceeds to set forth the history through its divergent systems and theories.

Although the subject possesses great interest and importance, workers in the field cannot be said to be too numerous. Since Bühler's memorable discovery (1877) in Kashmir of the bulk of the old forgotten Alaṃkāra literature, the devoted enterprise, however, of a small but excellent band of scholars has brought to light and given us useful editions of most of the important texts, besides collecting a great deal of valuable information on the subject. There can be no doubt that much yet remains to be done in this direction, but these additions to our knowledge have shed so much light on the whole subject that little room is left for mere guess-work with regard to the general theme, and the historical method may be tentatively applied to a systematic presentation. It is now clear that

the works on Alaṃkāra are not sporadic or isolated productions, but constitute an extensive literature, ranging over a fairly long period of time, and embodying, with an abstruse technique and ingenious theories, a systematic discipline which possesses an interesting course of history.

It is needless to say that I have made, as the references will indicate, a careful use of the accumulated but scattered labours of previous workers, supplementing them with my own studies. But as some of the problems still require elucidation, while the proffered solutions in some cases have not received recognition, I have taken the opportunity of re-examining the disputed points, re-arranging the available data and re-thinking the entire subject. I have, however, avoided useless discussions as much as possible, confining myself to stating my own view and leaving it to speak for itself. Regarding questions of chronology, I have made extensive use of the chronological materials scattered throughout the various reports, journals, catalogues and notices of Sanskrit MSS. I have also enjoyed the privilege of utilising the manuscript-materials in the India Office, British Museum and elsewhere; and I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to the authorities concerned for extending this privilege to me. My thanks are also due to Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā for getting the entire MS of Abhinavagupta's bulky commentary on Bharata copied for my use, and to Dr. Thomas and the Curator of Madras Government Oriental MSS Library, as well as to, my friend and colleague Pandit Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrī,

for procuring for me transcripts of the rare MSS of Abhinava's *Locana* IV and Kuntala's *Vakrôkti-jīvita.* With the help of these transcripts I have been able to publish the texts of the last two works; and I have also in contemplation an edition of Abhinava's erudite commentary on Bharata, if I can collect sufficient materials towards it.

In this work I have confined myself to Sanskrit Poetics and have not taken into consideration the numerous vernacular works on the subject which, together with the theme of Dramaturgy which I have also omitted, deserve more room for a detailed and separate treatment. The Bibliographies, which are meant to supply information about editions and MSS of texts and commentaries, do not pretend to be exhaustive; but it is hoped that no useful or important point has been overlooked. Instead of merely repeating the entries of different MSS in Aufrecht (as Dr. Haricand Śāstrī does), I have, in compiling these, economised space by simple references to his indispensable *Catalogus Catalogorum,* at the same time consulting the original catalogues when necessary and the original MSS when available, and correcting in this way what seemed to me wrong, misleading or superfluous entries. I have also tried to supplement them by entries from catalogues and reports published after the date of Aufrecht's monumental work.

A word of explanation may be deemed necessary regarding the use of the term "Poetics" to designate a half-theoretical and half-practical discipline which is known in Sanskrit as the *Alaṃkāra-śāstra* or

the *Sāhitya-śāstra.* Prof. Jacobi, who seems to have been the first to make this term current, has sufficiently explained its scope in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 393, fn 1. It may be remarked that the commonly used term "Rhetoric" is inadequate in explaining the standpoint of a study which includes a great deal more than a mere practical treatment of rhetorical categories; while the expression "Aesthetics" is misleading in this connexion, inasmuch as the theoretical scope of Alaṃkāra is not fully co-extensive with what is expressed by that term in modern philosophical studies.

There remains for me now the pleasant duty of recording the manifold encouragement and help I have received in the course of these labours. I am greatly obliged to some scholars for their kind and prompt reply to my queries, especially to the late Professor Rhys Davids, and to Professors Keith and Jacobi. On learning that I was studying Sanskrit Poetics, Prof. Jacobi evinced a genuine interest in my work and encouraged me with suggestions from his expert knowledge of the subject. After I had finished my work in England, he invited me very kindly to Bonn, where I had the privilege of working with him and prosecuting these studies further, as well as of enjoying his genial friendship and hospitality. I had then the opportunity of laying the rough outlines of this modest work before that veteran scholar and profiting by his criticism. I must also thank Dr. Thomas of the India Office Library for his keen interest in my work and for his uniform courtesy and kindness in rendering me all facilities

I required. I cannot also omit acknowledging my obligations to Sir E. Denison Ross for his many acts of kindness during the time I studied at the London School of Oriental Studies. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. L. D. Barnett, under whom I worked in the same School and with whom it was always a pleasure to work, for his goodness in watching the progress of this essay and reading patiently through its first draft, as well as for his unwearied help, kind sympathy and steady encouragement. It is a pleasure and privilege also to return my heartfelt thanks to many friends in England, Germany and elsewhere, whose kind words of sympathy never failed to cheer me in a foreign land.

In a work like this, errors, both of omission and commission, are hard to escape; all suggestions for correction or improvement will, therefore, be thankfully received. To avoid unnecessary delay in printing and transmission of proofs, the book had to be printed in India; but those who are acquainted with the conditions of printing here will realise its difficulties and condone its imprefections. Although care has been taken to make this work free from errors of pen and print (and in this connexion I must thank the promptness and zeal of the Calcutta Oriental Press), a few obvious but unwelcome misprints and slips, especially with regard to diacritical marks, have unfortunately crept in, for which I express my apology to the generous reader.

CALCUTTA
May 15, 1923. S. K. Dé

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I BEGINNINGS

(1)

There is an interesting passage in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in which Rājaśekhara, while giving us a somewhat fanciful account of the divine origin of Poetics, mentions at the same time the names of the supposed original exponents of the discipline. It is said that the Spirit of Poetry (*kāvya-puruṣa*), born of the Goddess of Learning (*sarasvatī*), was set by the Self-existent Being to promulgate the study of Poetics in the three worlds; and he related it in eighteen *adhikaraṇas* to his seventeen will-born pupils. These divine sages, in their turn, are said to have composed separate treatises on the portions respectively learnt by them. Thus Sahasrâkṣa wrote on *kavi-rahasya*, Uktigarbha on *auktika*, Suvarṇanābha on *rīti*, Pracetāyana on *anuprāsa*, Citrâṅgada on *yamaka* and *citra*, Śeṣa on *śabda-śleṣa*, Pulastya on *vāstava*, Aupakāyana on *upamā*, Pārāśara on *atiśaya*, Utathya on *artha-śleṣa*, Kubera on *ubhayâlaṃkāra*, Kāmadeva on *vainodika*, Bharata on *rūpaka* Nandikeśvara on *rasa*, Dhiṣaṇa on *doṣa*, Upamanyu on *guṇa* and Kucamāra on *aupaniṣadika*. This tendency on the part of a Sanskrit author towards glorifying his science and thereby investing it with an ancient unalterable authority is not unusual, and such legendary accounts are often fabricated where

the actual origin is forgotten ; but it is curious that we do not meet with them elsewhere in Alaṃkāra literature, although they find expression in Bharata and in Vātsyāyana with regard to the origin of the allied disciplines of Dramaturgy and Erotics respectively. The historical value of this passage of Rājaśekhara may, indeed, be well doubted ; but it is possible that this unique account, apart from its obviously mythical garb, embodies a current tradition, implying the actual existence, at some remote and forgotten period, of early expounders of poetic theory, some of whose names are still familiar, but most of whose works have apparently perished. Thus Suvarṇanābha and Kucamāra (or Kucumāra) are also cited with reverence by the author of the *Kāma-sūtra* (I. 1. 13, 17), both of them as authorities on Erotics, but the latter especially as well-versed in the particular subject of *aupaniṣadika*, which is thus included in Erotics as well as in Poetics.[1] The present-day text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which goes by the name of Bharata, deals in an encyclopaedic manner with various topics, but Bharata is well known, as described by Rājaśekhara, as an authority on *rūpaka*. No work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered ; but his name is associated with a number of works, mostly late compilations, on erotics, music, histrionic art, grammar and *tantra*.[2]

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1 Cf. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, iv p. 95.

2 Aufrecht i 276, ii 59, iii 206. The writer on Erotics is cited as Nandīśvara in *Pañca-sāyaka* (Bik. 533, Peter-

This traditional account may lead one to make the tempting suggestion of a very early systematic investigation of rhetorical issues but for the serious difficulty that there is hardly any material in the ancient literature itself to enable us to trace the origin of Poetics to a very remote antiquity. The Alaṃkāra-śāstra is never mentioned among the orthodox disciplines which constitute the so-called *vedāṅgas*, nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* or the earlier *Upaniṣads* in which we may find a real basis for a system of Poet-

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son ii 110), whom Aufrecht is inclined to identify with Nandin quoted by Vātsyāyana (I.1.8); but the name Nandikeśvara is given in *Rati-rahasya* (*ABod* 218a, Schmidt *Ind. Erotik* 1911 pp. 46, 59). The work on histrionic art, attributed to Nandikeśvara, is known as *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* (ed. Poona 1874. MSS: *IOC* 3028, 3090 ; Oppert i 16, 950, 2503, 7264, ii 450, 2205, 5473 ; Burnell 436 ; *ŚgŚ* ii 304 ; *IWRAS* 109 ; *Madras Cat.* 12980-85). Nandikeśvara is better known as an authority on music, and is cited as one of his sources by Śārṅgadeva (13th century) in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (I. 1. 17) and by his commentator Kallinātha p. 47. Works on music attributed to Nandikeśvara are : *Nandikeśvaramate Tālādhyāya* in Weber 1729, and *Bharatārṇava Āndhra-ṭīkā-sahita* (*Madras Cat.* 13006-08), supposed to be a condensed version of Nandikeśvara's work by Sumati, treating of dramatic gestures and *tāla*. This probably explains why the last chapter in the existing version of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Kāvyamālā) is designated *nandi-bharata-saṃgīta-pustaka*. The other names mentioned by Rājaśekhara cannot be connected with works, actual or traditional, on Poetics or kindred topics. Curiously enough, an *Alaṃkāra-sūtra*, consisting of 75 *sūtras*, is ascribed to Vātsyāyana himself in Hultzsch 269.

ics. The word *upamā*, for instance, is found as early as the *Ṛg-veda* (V. 34. 9 ; I. 31. 15), and Sāyana explains it in the sense of *upamāna* (as in Pāṇini II. 3. 72) or *dṛṣṭānta* ; but there is nothing unusual in this use of the general idea of similitude, which need not be interpreted as having a particular speculative significance. It is conceded, on the authority of Yāska and Pāṇini, that the conception of *upamā* or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent ; but beyond this grammatical or philological interest, there is no indication of a dogma, much less of a theory, of Poetics in the Vedic times. Nor should undue emphasis be laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature ; for between this unconscious employment of figures of speech and the conscious formulation of a definite system, there must necessarily be a long step.

(2)

The first evidence of a definite, if somewhat crude, activity in this direction is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*. From the investigation of the peculiarities of the general form of language, which began early, attention was apparently directed to the analysis of the poetic forms of speech ; but the question was still regarded entirely from the linguistic point of view. The term *alaṃkāra* in the technical sense does not occur in the *Nirukta*, but Yāska uses the word *alaṃkariṣṇu* in the general sense of 'one in the habit of adorning', which Pāṇini explains in

III. 2. 136 and which is apparently the meaning of the word occuring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 8. 4. 7 ; iii. 5. 1. 36), and in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 8. 5). But in the *Nighaṇṭu* iii 13, a list is given of particles of comparison relating to the Vedic *upamā*, comprising twelve varieties, which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* i 4, iii 13-18 and ix 6. Six of these varieties, viz., those indicated by the particles *iva, yathā, na, cit, nu* and *ā*, are discussed in connexion with Yāska's treatment of *upamārthe nipātas* or particles indicative of comparison (i 4), and partly included in what he designates as *karmôpamā* in iii 15. Then Yāska mentions *bhūtôpamā*, in which the *upamita* becomes the *upamāna* in character, and *rūpôpamā*, where the *upamita* resembles the *upamāna* in point of form. The fourth variety occurs where the particle *yathā* is used. Then comes *siddhôpamā*, in which the standard of comparison is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act, and is characterised by the suffix *vat*. The last variety is *luptôpamā* or suppressed simile, also called *arthôpamā* (equivalent to the *rūpaka* of later theorists), which is illustrated in iii 18 (also ix 6), where the example is given of the popular application of the terms *siṃha* and *vyāghra* in a laudatory and *śvan* and *kāka* in a derogatory sense. The term *upamāna* itself is used by Yāska, but only to denote these particles of comparison (vii 31). The significance of comparison in general is also referred to in i 19, ii 6, iii 5, iv 11, v 22 and vii 13. Incidentally Yāska quotes (iii 13) the grammarian

Gārgya's definition of *upamā*[1], which is important from our point of view. As explained by Durgâcārya, it lays down that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned, through similarity, with an object having similar attributes[2]. It also states as a general rule that the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison ; but the reverse case is also admitted and illustrated (iii 14-15) by two examples from the *Ṛg-veda*. The definition, too wide as it is, recalls Mammaṭa's similar dictum, and undoubtedly establishes a very early, but more or less definite, conception of the poetic *upamā*.

By the time of Pāṇini, this conception of *upamā* seems to have been tacitly recognised, and we find him using in this connexion the technical terms *upamāna*[3], *upamita*[4] and *sāmānya*[5] as well as general expressions like *upamā*[6] (used in the sense of the rhetorician's *upamāna*), *aupamya*[7], *upamârthe*[8]

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1 *athâta upamā yad atat tat-sadṛśam iti gārgyaḥ, tad āsāṃ karma jyāyasā vā guṇena prakhyātamena vā kanīyāṃsaṃ vâprakhyātâṃ vôpaminīte'thâpi kanīyasā jyāyāṃsam.*

2 *evam atat tat-svarūpeṇa guṇena guṇa-sāmānyād upamīyate ityevaṃ gārgyâcāryo manyate.*

3 II. 1. 55 ; III. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45 ; V. 4. 97, 137 ; VI. 1. 204, 2. 2, 72, 80, 127, 145, 169.

4 II. 1. 56.

5 II. 1. 55 ; II. 4. 5 ; VIII. 1. 74.

6 II. 3. 72.

7 I. 4. 74 ; IV. 1. 69 ; VI. 2. 113.

8 VIII. 2. 101.

and *sādṛśya*[1]. It is noteworthy that in nearly fifty *sūtras* distributed all over his work, Pāṇini incidentally discusses, from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the conception of comparison on the language, in the varied dominion of affixes, including case and feminine suffixes, *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *samāsānta* terminations[2], in the making of compounds[3] and in accent[4]. The same influence is also traceable in the idea of *atideśa*, a term which is not used by Pāṇini himself but which is made clear by his commentators, and which may be translated as 'extended application by analogy or similarity'. Kātyāyana, in several *vārttikas*[5], follows Pāṇini in noting the same influence of the idea of similitude, while Śāntanava in his *Phiṭ-sūtra* discusses it in connexion with accentuation.[6] In the *Mahābhāṣya* on II. 1. 55, Patañjali has defined and illustrated Pāṇini's use of the term *upamāna*. A *māna* or measure, he says is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown; *upamāna* is approximate to the *māna* and determines the thing not absolutely (but approximately), *e.g.*, when we say 'a *gavaya* is like a cow'[7]. Strictly speaking, a writer on Poetics will not accept the example adduced by Patañjali as

1 II. 1. 6-7 ; VI. 2. 11.

2 I. 4. 79 ; II. 3. 72 ; III. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45; IV. 1. 69, 4. 9 ; V. 1. 115-16, 2. 39, 3. 96, 106, 4. 97, 137.

3 II. 1. 7, 31, 55-6 ; VI. 2. 11.

4 V. 1. 18 ; VI. 1. 204, 2. 2, 11, 72, 80, 113, 127, 145, 169 etc.

5 on I. 3. 21 ; II. 1. 55, 2. 24, 4. 71 ; III. 1. 10 etc.

6 e.g. II. 16, IV. 18.

7 *Mānaṃ hi nāmânirjñāta-jñānârtham upādīyate nirj-*

an instance of poetic *upamā*[1], inasmuch as the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is wanting in such a plain expression; but this grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is an early and near approach to the technical conception of Poetics.[2]

(3)

A special interest attaches to these rules of Pāṇini and the dicta of early grammarians, inasmuch as they form the basis of what may be termed the grammatical sub-division of the figure *upamā* into direct (*śrautī*) and indirect (*ārthī*) simile as well similes based on *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes, recognised as early as Udbhaṭa's time. Thus the authority for the *śrautī upamā*, in which the notion of comparison is conveyed by particles like *yathā*, *iva*, *vā* or by the suffix *vat*, when *vat* is equivalent to *iva*, is supposed to be based on two rules of Pāṇini (V. 1. 115-16), which lay down that the suffix *vat* is applied to the standard of comparison in the locative or genitive case and takes the place of the case-ending and *iva*, as well as to a noun which should otherwise be in the instrumental case in the sense of *tena tulya* (like that), if the similarity consists in an action and not in quality. Thus we get

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ñatam artham jñāsyāmīti, tat-samīpe yan nâtyantāya mimīte tad upamānam, gour iva gavaya iti, ed. Kielhorn I p. 397.

1 *go-sadṛśo gavaya iti nôpamā, Citr. mīm.* p. 6.

2 The conception of *upamā* appears to be fully established in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, e.g. i. 63.

the forms *mathurāvat* (=*mathurāyām iva*) *pāṭaliputre prākāraḥ*, *caitravat* (=*caitrasya iva*) *maitrasya gāvaḥ*, as well as *brāhmaṇavad* (=*brāhmaṇena tulyam*) *adhīte*, but not *caitravat kṛśaḥ*. In the same way, we have compounded simile like *kumbhāviva stanau*, according to the *vārttika* (*ivena samāso vibhaktyalopaḥ*) on Pāṇini II. 4. 71, which is, therefore, taken as an instance of compounded direct simile (*samāsagā śrautī upamā*). Similarly, the ending *kyac*, according to Pāṇini III. 1. 10, is applied to a noun in the objective case, which is expressive of *upamāna* in the sense of 'behaviour' (*ācāra*), and gives us a simile in phrases like *pauraṃ janaṃ sutīyasi*; while the next rule of Pāṇini lays down that the suffix *kyaṅ* may be applied to a noun in the nominative case in the sense of 'behaving like' and forms the basis of a simile in such expressions as *tava sadā ramaṇīyate śrīḥ*. It is needless to cite more examples, for this will be sufficient to indicate that some of the speculations on poetic speech can be traced back to the early grammatical analysis of the same ideas, as well as the fact that even in the age of Pāṇini, some of these conceptions appear to have been well established and to have considerably influenced his enquiry. It must be admitted that these tentative sallies of the grammarians are not definite enough to indicate the existence of a system, but the stock of notions, thus indirectly relating to Poetics, though not large, yet throws an interesting light on the genesis of later speculations on poetic speech.

If any deduction is permissible from the name 'Alaṃkāra' (lit. embellishment) given to the disci-

pline as well as from the contents of the earliest existing works on the subject, it will appear that the science started *a posteriori* out of the very practical object of analysing poetic embellishments of speech with a view to prescribe definite rules of composition; but it cannot be doubted that it received a great impetus from the highly developed enquiry into the forms of language made by the grammarians. From internal evidence as well as from the testimony, which admits of little doubt, of some of the ancient authorities on Poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the oldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready acceptance. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being based on the authority on the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost thinkers (*prathame hi vidvāṃso vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇa-mūlatvāt sarva-vidyānām*, p. 47); while Bhāmaha, one of the earliest known formulators of poetic theory, not only devotes one whole chapter to the question of grammatical correctness—a procedure which is followed by Vāmana—but also proclaims openly the triumph of the views of Pāṇini (vi 63). Apart from such details as the linguistic analysis of the idea of comparison referred to above, it can be easily shown that some of the fundamental conceptions of poetic theory, relating to speech in general, are avowedly based on the views of the grammarians to the exclusion of other schools of opinion. Thus the question whether the convention (*saṃketa*), where-

by the expressed meaning of a word (*abhidhā*) is to be understood, is accepted by a reference to the views of the grammarians on this point. The grammarians hold, in opposition to the Naiyāyikas, Saugatas and Mīmāṁsakas, that the import of a word is either *jāti*, *dravya*, *kriyā* or *guṇa*, as expressed by the dictum *catuṣṭayī śabdānām pravṛttiḥ*, cited from the *Mahābhāṣya*[1] by Mukula (p. 4) and Mammaṭa (*Svp.* p. 2.) Indeed, the whole analysis of the two functions of word and its sense, called *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*[2], are borrowed from the grammatico-philosophical ideas already elaborated by the grammarians ; and even the new aesthetic system of Ānandavardhana, in establishing the third function of *vyañjanā* attempts to seek an authority for its theory on the analogy of the quasi-grammatical theory of *sphoṭa*, which is associated with the name of the pre-pāṇinian grammarian Sphoṭāyana, and which we find fully developed in the *Vākyapadīya*.

(4)

Some of these ideas, again, are more or less recognised in the different philosophical systems, which concern themselves with *śabda* or speech in general,

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1 I have not been able to trace this sentence in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but its purport has been sufficiently explained at the very commencement of that work. Cf. also *Kumārasaṃbhava* ii 17, where this view is clearly mentioned, although Mallinātha would explain the *catuṣṭayī pravṛtti* with reference to the four *vivartas* of *vāc*.

2 Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on VIII. I. 12

in connexion with the question of scriptural revelation and interpretation. The theory of *sphoṭa*, which, however, has only a far-fetched relation to Poetics, has also its significance in some systems of philosophy ; and the idea of manifestation, implied in the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, which consists not in the expression of something new but in the manifestation of something already existing, is not altogether unfamiliar to Indian speculation. A similar train of thought meets us in the Sāṁkhya idea of causation (i 117-18), in which the effect is not produced but is already comprehended in the cause and therefore can only become manifest. We find another analogy in the general idea of the Vedântin's *mokṣa* or liberation, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest or realised, by the removal of enveloping obstacles.[1] The theory relating to the other two functions of words (*abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*), which play such an important part in poetic speculation, had already engaged the attention, not only of the philosophical grammarians, but also of the philosophers themselves, especially the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṁsakas. The Naiyāyikas, for instance, hold that by denotation (*abhidhā*) of a word, we understand not only the individual (*vyakti*), but also

1 It is noteworthy that the *Vedânta-sūtra* makes a direct use of the term *rūpaka* in the technical sense (I. 4. 1), upon which Appayya Dīkṣita remarks : *bhagavatā bādarāyaṇena "nānumānikam apyekeṣām iti cen na śarīra-rūpaka-vinyasta-gṛhīter darśayati ca" iti śārīraka-sūtre rūpakam aṅgīkṛtam* (*Citr. mīm.* p. 54 ed. *Kāvyamālā 1907*). cf also *Vedânta sūtra* iii. 2. 18.

the genus *(jāti)* and the quality *(guṇa)*[1] ; while the Mīmāṁsakas maintain that it signifies primarily *(jāti)*, and the *vyakti* is understood by implication *(ākṣepa)* through its inseparable connexion with *jāti.*[2] The *Nyāya-sūtra,* again, gives an exhaustive list of the relations through which a word may be used in a secondary sense, the idea of secondary sense, variously called *gauṇa, bhākta, lākṣaṇika* or *aupacārika artha,* being tacitly admitted in almost all the systems.[3] Indeed, the theories of Poetics on these points are considerably mixed up with the doctrines of the Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā schools ; and even Bhāmaha's early work devotes a considerable space to the discussion of the logic of poetry and the expressive functions of words.

We shall note in its proper place the influence of the Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Vedânta doctrines on the poetic theory of *rasa ;* but it may be pointed out here that the conception of *upamā* (here termed *upamāna*), by which is implied the general idea of analogy or comparison, plays an important part in the different philosophical systems in the discussion of the nature and criterion of knowledge. The *Maitrī Upaniṣad,* for instance, treats of three *pramāṇas* (vi 10, 14), viz., perception, *(dṛṣṭa* or *pratyakṣa)*, inference *(liṅga* or *anumāna)* and analogy *(upamā* or *upamāna)*. Kanāda and Kapila, no doubt, reject analogy as an indepen-

1 *Nyāya-sūtra* II. 2. 68

2 *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* I. 3. 33 ff.

3 *Vedānta-sūtra* II.3.16, III.1.7 ; *Nyāya-sūtra* II.2.64, also I.2.11, 14, 15 ; *Sāṃkhya-sūtra* V 67 etc.

dent and authoritative evidence ; but the Naiyāyikas admit it, the purpose served by it being, in their opinion, the perception of a likeness in an object not perceived before. Vātsyāyana, commenting on I.1.3, defines it in terms almost similar to those used in the already quoted passage from the *Mahābhāṣya*,[1] as *sāmīpya-mānam upamānam*. According to the Naiyāyikas, therefore, the object attained by analogy or *upamāna* consists in the recognition of the connexion between the appellation and the thing designated by it, and thus it forms the very foundation of expression. The idea of *atideśa-vākya* reappears as the means of analogical cognition, *i. e.*, as a helper of the actual perception of similarity between the well-known and the novel object at the first sight of the latter. The co-operation of the *upamāna* is also maintained to be essential in syllogistic reasoning, where it appears in the form of the syllogistic factor, called *upanāya* (1.1.32) or statement of the minor premise. A relic of this idea of *upamāna* survives in Poetics in the treatment of Bhoja (iii 50), who distinguishes the figure *upamā* from the figure *upamāna*, although this view finds no supporter except Appayya Dīkṣita, who adopts *upamāna* as a separate poetic figure.[2] It is needless to dilate more on this point ; but

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1 P. 7 *ante.*

2 *Kuvalay.* ed. N. S. P. 1913 p. 174. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa takes it as included in the figure *upamā* itself, and Vāmana appears to deal with one of its varieties (viz., *ananubhūta-viṣaya*) as an instance of what he calls *tattvākhyānopamā* or descriptive simile (IV. 2. 7).

the idea of *upamāna*, together with that of *atideśa*, is similarly dealt with by the Mīmāṁsakas. They, however, consider that the *upamāna* refers to an object, already familiar to us, as being similar to another object which is seen for the first time; or in the words of Upavarṣa, quoted by Śabarasvāmin, the *upamāna* or analogy, being similarity, produces an idea respecting an object that is not present, just as the sight of a *gavaya* revives the memory of a cow.[1]

(5)

Although these speculations have an indirect bearing on Poetics and might have suggested and helped to develop some of its fundamental theories, they cannot be taken as a definite basis of any deductions as to the antiquity of the discipline itself. It is striking indeed that we have no direct or indirect reference to Poetics as a *śāstra* in early texts, although at the end of the 9th century Rājaśekhara speaks of a tradition which makes it the seventh *aṅga*. Poetics is omitted in the enumeration of the different branches of study in the well-known passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII. 1. 2. 4, ed. Böhtlingk). Āpastambha (II. 4, 11), speaks of the usual six *aṅgas*, but Yājñavalkya (i 3) enumerates in all fourteen *śāstras*, to which the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* adds four more, in which Poetic is not mentioned at all. In a

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1 *upamānam api sādṛśyam a-sannikṛṣṭe'rthe buddhim utpādayati, yathā gavaya-darśanam go-smaraṇam*, on I. 1. 15.

similar list in the *Lalita-vistara*[1], there is a reference to *kāvya-karaṇa-grantha* and *nāṭya*, which may be taken to imply Poetics and Dramaturgy respectively, but the designation 'Alaṃkāra' is not met with until we come to *Śukra-nīti* which includes it, in company with Artha-śāstra, Kāma-śāstra and Śilpa-śāstra, among thirty-two different *śāstras*. It has been pointed out by Rhys Davids[2] that the old Pāli texts, *Aṅguttara* (i 72, iii 107) and *Saṃyukta* (i 38, ii 267), there are references to a similar study. These passages are interesting historically as being opposed to the science, but they do not expressly or by implication mention it as Alaṃkāra-śāstra.[3]

It seems likely, therefore, that Poetics as a technical discipline must have been of comparatively late origin, and probably began to develop in the first few centuries of the Christian era.[4] With the flourish-

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1 Ed. Lefmann I p. 156.

2 In a letter to me dated 24. 2. 1921.

3 In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* there is a chapter devoted to the procedure of writing *śāsanas*, where mention is made of *arthakrama*, *paripūrṇatā*, *mādhurya*, *audārya*, and *spaṣṭatva* as excellences which should be attained. These do not correspond to the *guṇas* defined in earlier Alaṃkāra-works, but perhaps represent the common-sense view of the matter.

4 Patañjali refers to a large number of poetical works (ed. Kielhorn I 283, 340, 426, 444 ; II 34, 102, 119, 167, 313, 315 ; III 143, 338 etc.) , which fact apparently indicates a considerable poetical activity in his age, preluding a systematic investigation of poetic principles ; but there is no reference to Alaṃkāra literature in his time.

ing of Sanskrit learning and literature in the 4th and 5th centuries under the Gupta Emperors, its development probably proceeded apace. Bühler's epigraphical researches [1] have confirmed the indication, first given by Lassen, as regards the development of Sanskrit *kāvya*-style in this period, and it may be taken as the prelude to a rhetorical activity which bore rich fruit in the 8th and 9th centuries in systematic investigations of poetic principles. His examination of the early inscriptions, not only proves the existence of a body of highly elaborate prose and metrical writings in the *kāvya*-style during the first five centuries A.D., but it also establishes the presumption that most of these *praśasti*-writers were "acquainted with the rules of Indian poetics" [2]. Bühler attempts to show that the manner in which these writers conform to the rules of Alaṃkāra, crystallised in the oldest available manuals like those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, would go to indicate "the existence of an Alaṃkāra-śāstra or some theory of poetic art" [3].

From this period of time, we get more or less definite indications of the existence of doctrines of Poetics in the *kāvya*-literature itself. In the two

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1 *Die Indischen Inschriften*, trans. *IA* xiii, pp. 29f.

2 *Ibid*, p. 146.

3 p. 243. This conclusion is, to some extent, supported by a passage in the Girnar inscription itself (2nd century A. D.), which contains a reference to "prose and poetry embellished (with poetic figures) and rendered attractive by poetic conventions and expressions which are clear, light, pleasing, varied and charming" (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayôdārâlaṃkṛta-gadya-padya*) *EI* viii p. 44.

earlier epics, no doubt, some of the more general terms of Alaṃkāra (like *upamā, kāvya, nāṭaka, kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) are used, but no chronological conclusion is safe from the admittedly composite character of the present-day texts. But in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, as Cowell notes, we have the use of common poetic figures like *upamā, utprekṣā* or *rūpaka*, as well as of elaborate ones like *yathā-saṃkhya* and *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* in an ingenious way, which presumably betrays an acquaintance with the teachings of Poetics. The very first verse uses the word *upamā* in a some what technical sense, and we have also in iii 51 the use of the term *rasāntara* to indicate a counter-emotion which cancels an already prevailing one. Cowell, therefore, is justified in remarking that a peculiar interest attaches to such poems "from their importance in establishing Prof. Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric—*kāvya* and *alaṃkāra*—in the early centuries of our era." This remark applies with greater force to the works of Kālidāsa, which appear with all the polish and perfection imparted to them by a trained and careful artist. To the later theorists they supply an inexhaustible store-house of quotations for the illustration of different poetic figures, expressions and principles. This conscious employment of varied and elaborate poetic figures and general observance of poetic rules in these early *kāvya*-poets are not without their significance, and we may reasonably presume from them a general diffusion of the knowledge of Poetics in this age.

The same tendency towards the artificial or factitious composition is shown also in the prose romances of Subandhu and Bāṇa. Subandhu prides himself on his skill in the use of *śleṣa* in every letter of his composition[1], and his *Vāsavattāda* justifies this boast as a *tour de force* of extraordinary verbal jugglery. In the work itself Subandhu speaks of poetic compositions adorned with poetic figures like *śleṣa*, divided into *ucchvāsas*[2], and displaying skill in the employment of *vaktra* metre. He specifies also two important poetic figures, viz., *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa*.[3] Equally

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1 *pratyakṣara-śleṣamayaprapañca-vinyāsa-vaidagdhyanidhim prabandham | sarasvatī-datta-vara-prasādaś cakre subandhuḥ sujanaika-bandhuḥ*, ed. Śrīrangam, 1906, p. 357-8

2 Cf Bhāmaha i 25-26; Daṇḍin i 26-27.

3 *satkavi-kāvya-racanām ivālaṃkāra-prasādhitām*, p. 303; *dīrghôcchvāsa-racanākulam su-śleṣa-vaktra-ghaṭanā-paṭu satkāvya-viracanam iva*, pp. 238-39; *utprekṣākṣepau kāvyālaṃkāreṣu* p. 146. The reading of the first of these passages in the Calcutta edition is *bauddhasaṃgatim ivālaṃkārabhūṣitām*, and the commentary of Śivarāma explains it as *alaṃkāro nāma dharmakīrti-kṛto grantha-viśeṣaḥ*, implying that Subandhu here refers to a work on Alaṃkāra, so designated, by the Buddhist Dharmakīrti. If this were so, and if this Dharmakīrti can be identified with the Buddhist logician, who appears also to be quoted in the *Dhv.* pp. 217, then he is apparently one of the earliest writers on Alaṃkāra whose work is now lost; for he is generally placed in the first half of the 7th century. This conflicts with the accepted date of Subandhu, and undue reliance need not be placed on an unauthenticated statement of a very late commentator. Levi is probably correct in denying that Subandhu

definite is Bāṇa's references to rhetoric in his mention, in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*, of the poetic figures *upamā, jāti* (=*svabhāvôkti*), *dīpaka* and *śleṣa* as well as of poetic *rasa* and *śayyā*. Bāṇa also refers to verbal puzzles, such as *akṣara-cyuta, bindumatī, guḍha-caturthapāda* and *prahelikā* [1], and he seems to be aware of the *ālamkārika* distinction between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.[2]

(5)

From all these indications, the inference is not improbable that with the growth of a body of highly finished prose and poetical literature, the science of Poetics or at least the investigation of rhetorical rules made considerable progress by the end of the sixth century A. D. The earliest known writers on Poetics, who lived somewhat later, themselves refer to still earlier authorities. Thus Bhāmaha speaks of Medhāvin and others, whom he cites and whose work he avowedly utilises. Similarly Daṇḍin refers to earlier writings, and one of his commentators mentions in this connexion two theorists before Daṇḍin, viz, Kāśyapa and Vararuci, who are otherwise unknown to us as writers on Alaṃkāra. Apart from this fact of their own citation of earlier views,

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makes any allusion to Dharmakīrti's literary activity (*Bulletin de l'Ecole d'Extreme Orient* 1903, p. 18).

1 ed. Peterson, p. 7

2 *ibid*, p. 7 and *Harṣa-c.* p. 7

it cannot also be maintained with any cogency that the relatively developed style and treatment of even these early writers could have been evolved by themselves in the absence of earlier tentative works, the existence of which may be presumed, for instance, by the employment, by these writers, of certain technical words and formulas (e. g. *vakrôkti, rīti, guṇa* etc) without a previous explanation.

As a cognate branch of study, however, which probably supplied Poetics with a model and the poetic theory with the important content of *rasa*, Dramaturgy (*nāṭya-śāstra*) appears to have established itself a little earlier. Compartively early texts, both brahmanical and buddhistic, speak of some kind of dramatic representation, and we have a very early reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin as authors of *naṭa-sūtras* (IV. 3. 110-11)[1]. The early existence of treatises on the dramatic art is also evidenced by the fact that all the early authors on Poetics, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, omit a discussion of this subject and refer their readers for information to such specialised works. The older specimens of these are perhaps lost ; but Bharata's *Nāṭya-śastra,* which is cited as the oldest known and most authoritative, cannot possibly be put, even in its present version, at a date lower than the 6th century A. D. Bharata himself, however devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of poetical *guṇas*

1 It is interesting to note that both Amara and Śāśvata in their lexicons do not explain the technical terms of Alaṃkāra, although they have distinct references to dramaturgic technicalities and to *rasa*.

and *alamkāras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. It seems, therefore, that the study of Alamkāra was older than Bharata; and the tradition of opinion, followed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, may have been post-Bharata in date, but was probably pre-Bharata in substance. Indeed, the different schools of opinion, represented by the *alamkāra- rīti-* and *dhvani-*theories, probably flourished some centuries before their views became crytallised in the present works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra respectivly, none of whom, as we shall see, can be taken as the absolute founder of the system he represents. This process of crystallisation must have covered a tentative stage, whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making. We cannot, therefore, start with the works of these writers as the absolute beginnings of the science, although with them we enter upon the historic and the most creative stage of its existence. Taking this fact into consideration, we may presume without dogmatising that the Alamkāra-śāstra started as a separate technical discipline from about the commencement of the Christian era and probabably flourished in a relatively developed form in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The course of this development is unfortunately hidden from us, until it emerges in a more or less self-conscious form in some chapters of Bharata and in the *Kāvyālamkāra* of Bhāmaha.

II BHARATA

(1)

Although Indian tradition glorifies Bharata, the reputed author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, with the title of *muni* and places him in a mythic age, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to his actual date; and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[1] That he is the oldest writer on dramaturgy, music and kindred subjects, whose work has survived, is generally admitted; but at the same time the question arises as to how far the extant version of his work represents his original text. As there are indications that it has been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times before it assumed its present shape, this question has an important bearing on the date of the supposed author.

There are several passages in the present-day text which probably throw some light on this process

1 Regnaud in *Annales du Mus. Guimet* ii p. 66, also introd. to Grosset's ed.; Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, pp. 763 f; P. R. Bhandarkar in *IA* xli, pp. 157 f; H. P. Śāstrī in *JASB* v p. 352 f; Sten Konow in *Ind. Drama* p. 2; Rapson in art. on Indian Drama in *Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v p. 886.

of gradual interpolation and recasting. The curious colophon at the end in the Kāvyamālā edition, which appears to have puzzled its editor, designates the latter portion of the work as *Nandi-bharata*.[1] Rice mentions[2] a work called *Nandi-bharata* on music; while a chapter, apparently from a work on dramatic gesture, is referred to as *nandibharatōkta-saṃkara-hastādhyāya* in a manuscript of a treatise on music and *abhinaya*, noticed in *Madras Catalogue* no. 13009. These works, probably late compilations, refer to Nandi or Nandikeśvara, whom tradition acknowledges as an ancient authority on music and histrionic art[3]. This designation, therefore, of the latter part of Bharata's text, a part of which deals, among other things, with music, probably implies that it was compiled or recast at some later period in accordance with the views of Nandikeśvara. The last chapter, to which this colophon is appended, also contains a prediction that the rest of the topic will be treated

1 *samāptaś cāyaṃ [granthaḥ] nandibharata-saṃgīta-pustakam.*

2 *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue*, p. 292.

3 See above p. 2 *fn.* Similarly we hear of a work called *Mataṅgabharata* by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara, which apparently sets forth the views of Mataṅga, who is another old authority cited by Śārṅgadeva and his commentator, and by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i 51). It appears that the term *bharata* in course of time came to mean the dramatic art generally, as it also came to mean the actor; and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* expressly refers to *ādi-bharata*, by whom he means our author, in contra-distinction to these later *bharatas*.

in detail by Kohala[1] (who apparently belonged to the same school[2]), plainly showing that the rewriting of the portion in question was done some time after Kohala, as well as Nandikeśvara, had spoken on the subject. Nandikeśvara's date is unknown; but Kohala, side by side with Bharata, is recognised as an ancient authority, as early as the end of the 8th century A. D., in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭinī-mata* (*śl.* 81). It is interesting to note in this connexion that Abhinavagupta, commenting on Bharata vi 10, says[3] that although *nāṭya* is usually said to

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1 *śeṣaṃ prastāra-tantreṇa kohalaḥ kathayiṣyati* (emended for *kolāhalaḥ kathiṣayti* in the text), xxxvii 18.

2 see xxxvii 24. Kohala is cited as one of his sources by Śārṅgadeva (I. 1. 15); and Hemacandra, with reference to the classification of the different species of the drama, says: *prapañcas tu bharata-kohalâdi-śāstrebhyo'vagantavyaḥ* (p. 329; also p. 325). Śiṅgabhūpāla (i 51) acknowledges him as an authority on the drama and allied arts. A work on music called *Tāla-lakṣaṇa*, probably a late compilation, is attributed to him (Aufrecht i 130b, *IOC* 3025,3089; *Madras Cat.* 12992 with a Telegu comm.), and a *Kohalīya Abhinaya-śāstra*, purporting to embody his views, is also entered in the last named catalogue (with a Telegu comm. no. 12989). Another work on music, entitled *Dattila-kohalīya*, is mentioned by Burnell p. 60b, apparently a compendium of the opinions of Kohala and Dattila (or Dantila), who is mentioned by Damodaragupta (*śl.* 123), and cited as an old authority by Śārṅgadeva (I. 1. 16) and his commentator Kallinātha (p. 49), by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i 51), as well as in various works on music (Peterson iv p. 43 extr.; *ABod* 199b; 201a).

3 *abhinaya-trayaṃ gītâtodye ceti pañcâṅgaṃ nāṭyam ....anena tu ślokena kohalâdi-matenaikādaśâṅgatvam ucyate.*

consist of five *aṅgas*, the enumeration of eleven *aṅgas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others, to whose opinions the commentator makes many other incidental references. It is likely, therefore, that between Bharata's original work and its existing version, there came "Kohala and others" whose views found their way into the compendium, which goes by the name of Bharata and which indiscriminating posterity took as genuine and unquestionable.

The process of incorporation must have occurred very early and was apparently complete by the end of the 8th century, when the work assumed more or less its present shape. Udbhaṭa, about this time, actually appropriates (iv 4) the first-half of the verse vi 15 of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and makes only enough verbal change in its second-half to admit *śānta* as the ninth *rasa* in the category of eight recognised by Bharata.[1] Abhinavagupta, who commented on the

1 It may be noted that Abhinavagupta, immediately after the passage cited above, goes on to say: *nanu bharate tat-saṃgṛhītasyâpi punar atroddeśānirdeśe caitat krama-vyaty-āsanâdītyudbhaṭaḥ, neti lollaṭaḥ..............vayaṃ tvatra tattvam agre vitaniṣyāma ityâstām tāvat* (on Bharata vi 10). This difference of opinion between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa on a question of textual interpretation supports our conclusion that Udbhaṭa was probably familiar with the text of Bharata, as Abhinava knew it and as it has come down to us. It is not clear, however, if this evidence is sufficient to confirm the tradition, recorded by Śārṅgadeva (I. 1. 19), that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata. Abhinava himself refers to Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka aud Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as

existing text at the end of the 10th century, himself mentions several other previous commentators, of whom Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka in all probability belonged to the 8th and the 9th centuries. These indications will make it clear at any rate that the text existed in its present form in the 8th century A. D., if not earlier.

(2)

We have, on the other hand, the tradition as well as the statement of Bhavabhūti, who refers to to the mythical Bharata as the *tauryatrika-sūtra-kāra*[1], that Bharata's work existed originally in the *sūtra*-form, which is also made likely by Pāṇini's early reference to such *naṭa-sūtras* in his own time. Reminiscences of the *sūtra*-style may indeed be presumed in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* vi and vii, which deal with *rasa* and *bhāva*; for in ch. vi we find a

the principal commentators whose views he sometimes thought worth refuting in detail. Śārṅgadeva omits from his list Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka but adds Udbhaṭa, as well as one Kīrtidhara who apparently flourished after Abhinava (*vyākhyātāro bhāratīye lollaṭôdbhaṭa-śaṅkukāḥ | bhaṭṭâbhinava-guptaś ca śrīmat-kīrtidharo'paraḥ*). Abhinava also cites Rāhula (or Rāhala) and Bhaṭṭa Yantra, but it is not clear whether they were also commentators on Bharata. Śārṅga-deva mentions Rāhula elsewhere as one of his authorities, apparently on music (cf Hemacandra p. 316).

1 *Uttara-carita, ad* iv 22 (ed N. S. P., 1906, p. 120)

dictum[1] on the genesis of *rasa*, put in the concise form of a *sūtra*, to the elucidation of which, after the manner of a *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti*, the rest of the chapter (written in prose with verse-quotations) is apparently devoted. It should also be noticed that a preliminary explanation is added at commencement of the chapter to reconcile this curious portion of the text with the rest of the work. Bharata, we are told, being requested by the sages, explains the characteristics of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*, and *nirukta*, and incidentally gives an illustration of a *sūtra-grantha* by putting a part of the text in that form. This discussion of the nature of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*, *nirukta* and *sūtra* would not have been relevant to the subject in hand but for this flimsy explanation, which, however, affords a device, far-fetched as it is, to introduce into the *kārikā*-text some vestiges of the older *sūtra*-form. It is not maintained that a *sūtra*-text is necessarily older than a text in the *kārikā*-form; for in our *sūtra*-text itself there are quotations in the *vṛtti* of *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya ślokas*, betokening the existence of earlier teachings on the subject, and disproving at the same time the orthodox belief that Bharata was the earliest teacher of the *nāṭya-veda*. But if the tradition that Bharata's original work was com-

1 *tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, ed. Grosset p. 87, l. 8 ; ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62, l. 6. This dictum is cited as a *sūtra* by all later writers, including Abhinavagupta, and presumably by his predecessors Lollaṭa and others.

posed in the *sūtra*-form be accepted, then this portion of the existing version may be presumed to have been a survival of the original form.

If we get the lower limit to the date of Bharata's work at 8th century A.D., the other limit is very difficult to settle, when we consider that there were apparently two versions, one based on the other. But it is not clear what weight should be placed on the testimony of Bhavabhūti; for if in the first quarter of the 8th century Bharata was known to him as a *sūtra-kāra*, it is not intelligible how at the end of the same century, Udbhaṭa makes use of Bharata's *kārikā*, and Lollaṭa and others, immediately following, apparently comment on the same text. The short space of less than half a century is not enough to obliterate all signs of the older version and replace it entirely with a new *kārikā*-text which, to all intents and purposes, is taken as the only authoritative version in later times, and in which, strangely enough, we find still lingering traces of the earlier *sūtra*-text. The only possible explanation of Bhavabhūti's reference is that the historical Bharata, who was the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music, had already, in Bhavabhūti's time, become identified with the mythical Bharata; for the passage in the *Uttara-carita* gives an obviously mythical account, through the mouth of Lava, that *bhagavān Vālmīki*, having composed his story of *Rāma*, gave it to *bhagavān* Bharata (the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts and apparently the *nāṭyācārya* of the gods) who revised it and got it acted through celestial nymphs.

But this does not exhaust all our textual difficulties. Independent prose-passages also survive, in the midst of *kārikās*, in chs. xvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi and xxxiv, which, forming an integral part of the text, cannot be taken as mere *vṛtti*, but which resemble, in some respects, the prose *smṛti*-fragments or, more closely, the prose-fragments in the recently published *Bhela-saṃhitā*. Again, the *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya ślokas*, referred to above, correspond to the *parikara-* or *saṃgraha-ślokas* in later writings, and certainly indicate the probability of earlier speculations on the subject. These verses are generally taken from two distinct sources, for some of them are in *āryā* while others are in *anuṣṭup* metre.

From the facts adduced above, we are confronted with the problem of the inter-relation of these apparent survivals in our text, which contains vestiges of (1) independent prose-fragments (2) *anuvaṃśya ślokas* in *āryā* and *anuṣṭup* metres and (3) *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, as well as (4) the present systematic *kārikās*. We have no room to dilate upon this point, but an examination of these passages will reveal that these different styles do not belong to the same period, but they probably indicate several stages in the growth of particular *forms* of composition of dramaturgic works in general, each stage betraying its own partiality towards a particular form. Taking the present *kārikā*-text as the starting point, we find in it traces of an earlier *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, of which it is presumably a recast. In the *sūtra-bhāṣya*, again, there are fragments of metrical quotations, which indicate, in

their turn, another and still earlier *kārikā*-stage; while the independent prose-fragments perhaps represent the earliest form taken by such technical treatises. We can, therefore, distinguish in their order of development (1) a stage of prose-treatises (2) a tentative period of *kārikā*-writing (3) the *sūtra-bhāṣya* stage and (4) the final period of compilation of compendiums, which reverts again to the *kārikā*-form.[1] This conclusion perhaps finds some support in the repetition, more or less, of a similar phenomenon in the sphere of the Dharma-śāstra, the Artha-śāstra, the Vaidya-śāstra and probably the Kāma-śāstra. The loss of earlier tentative treatises makes it difficult to dogmatise; but if this conclusion is correct generally, then our text may be supposed to contain remnants of all these styles and forms. It is not argued here that Bharata's work itself passed through all these stages or forms, from a rudimentary prose-version into a systematic metrical manual; but our text contains enough to betray the existence of previous speculations in prose and in verse, as well as indicate the fact that it might have itself been once written in the *sūtra-bhāṣya* form, which was recast, with considerable additions from other sources, into a convenient metrical compendium.

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1 This conclusion does not apply to the more or less imitative periods after the 10th century in which we find the *kārikā* and the *sūtra*-style, existing almost side by side e. g. we find in the respective works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka.

(3)

Taking the substance of the work, apart from the vexed question of different versions, the portion of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals principally with music, has been conjectured [1] on internal evidence to have been compiled about the 4th century A. D.; and it may appear likely that the other portions were also put into their present shape about the same time. Pischel's argument, however, on the date of the work, derived from the reference to Pahlavas in a text of such composite character is of doubtful value in determining the question finally; but it perhaps makes it probable that the upper limit of its date cannot be put too early. On the other hand, Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā*[2] and Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*[3] quote one Mātṛguptâcārya as a writer on dramaturgy; and Sundaramiśra in his *Nāṭya-pradīpa* (dated 1613 A.D.), commenting on Bharata's remarks on *nāndī*, says *asya vyākhyāne mātṛguptâcāryaiḥ.........iyam udāhṛtā*[4]. This has been taken by Lévi to imply that Mātṛgupta wrote a *vyākhyāna* or commentary on Bharata, and that, assuming him to be same as the poet who lived under Harṣa-vikramâditya (*Rāja-taraṅg.*

1 *IA* xii p. 158 f.

2 ed. N. S. P., 1922, pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 20, 57, 62, 74, 110, 123, 126, 151, 154, 199 etc.

3 ed. N. S. P., 1900, p. 5; cf Aufrecht i 448a.

4 quoted in *IOC* iii p. 347. This Mātṛgupta is also cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramôrvaśī* (dated 1656 A. D., see *AFI* 444) ed. N. S. P., 1914, p. 5.

iii 125-252), we get in him a very early commentator on Bharata. But this evidence does not appear to be conclusive ; for our Mātṛgupta, as Rāghavabhaṭṭa's profuse quotations shew, probably wrote an independent metrical work on dramaturgy, in which he might have in the usual course commented on Bharata's precepts ; and the word *vyākhyāna* need not be construed to mean a commentary. This author, cited only by late commentators, is therefore to be distinguished from the poet of that name ; and probably he belongs to comparatively recent times, being certainly unknown to Abhinavagupta, Dhanika and other older writers. But he must be earlier than Śārṅgadeva (beginning of the 13th century) who mentions him in his work as an authority on music.

We are in a position, however, to infer that the substance of Bharata's work is probably much older than that of Bhāmaha[1], who may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhāmaha, in his treatment of poetic figures (*kāvyālaṃkāras*), groups them in a curious but suggestive way, which probably indicates the different periods in the growth and multiplication of such figures [2]. At the outset, he names and defines only five poetic figures (ii 4), re-

1 Besides showing himself conversant with some theory of *rasa* (ii 281, 283 f), Daṇḍin mentions the dramaturgic technical terms *sandhi*, *aṅga*, *vṛtti* and *lakṣaṇa* and refers to *āgamāntara* for their discussion (ii 366).

2 Cf. Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv (1922) pp. 220 f.

cognised, as he says, by other writers, viz., *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *upamā*. This represents the first stage; but in course of time, six other figures appear to have been added, and Bhāmaha mentions and deals with them next in ii 66. Then he goes on to enumerate, two (or three, including *svabhāvókti*) more figures admitted by writers like Medhāvin (ii 88), who also appears to have dealt with *upamā* etc. (ii 40). Finally, Bhāmaha defines and illustrates a further long list of twenty-three more figures in a separate chapter (iii 1-4). The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the progress of speculation is a familiar fact in Alaṃkāra literature, and the way in which Bhāmaha successively enumerates and groups these figures probably shows that to the original five mentioned by him at the outset, others were added in course of time as the study itself advanced. Now Bharata, in his treatment of *alaṃkāras*, names (xvi 41) only four such figures known to him, viz., *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *upamā*. These four in reality correspond to the five mentioned by Bhāmaha; for *anuprāsa* may be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*, the one being *varṇábhyāsa* and the other *padábhyāsa*. At the same time the very fact *anuprāsa* is thus differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in the analysis of these poetic figures. It is clear, therefore, that Bharata's work belonged to a period when the number of figures had not yet multiplied; and one, if not more, stages must have intervened between it and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyálaṃkāra* in which the number had already swelled into nearly forty in

all. [1] To this intermediate stage belonged Madhāvin and others, whom Bhāmaha cites, and the loss of whose work makes it difficult for us to trace the development thus indicated by Bhāmaha.

There are also indications that Bharata's teachings are probably older than Kālidāsa, who generally adheres to Bharata's dramaturgic prescriptions [2]. Kālidāsa refers to Bharata as the mythical *nāṭyácārya* ; but apart from this, it may be pointed out that while Bharata ignores Māhārāṣṭrī as one of Prakrits used in the drama, it is well known that in Sanskrit dramatic works, including those of Kālidāsa, Prakrit verses are in Māhārāṣṭrī and the prose-parts are in Śaurasenī and other allied Prakrits. In *Raghu* xix 36, again, Kālidāsa speaks of *aṅga-sattva-vacanáśraya nṛtya*, which, as Mallinātha rightly points out, agrees with Bharata's dictum *sāmānyábhinayo nāma jñeyo vāgaṅga-sattvajaḥ* [3].

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1 By the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, Bhaṭṭi illustrates as many as 38 different species of poetic figures, indicating that the process of refinement had proceeded very far indeed even in his time.

2 The discovery of the dramas, ascribed to Bhāsa, does not invalidate this argument for it is possible that they follow a tradition or a system of opinion of which all traces are now lost, and the date of Bhāsa itself is uncertain.

3 The *Amara-koṣa* only mentions *āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya.* This lexicon, which is said to have been translated into Chinese about 561-66 A. D. (see Nandargikar's introd. to *Meghadūta*, 1894, p. 73), admits after Bharata the eight *rasas*, and explains some of the dramaturgic technicalities, giving three synonyms of the actor (*śailālin*

The lower limit of the date of Bharata's work, therefore, can be provisionally shifted back to the fourth or fifth century A.D., while it is almost certain that it existed in its present shape in the 8th century A.D. The upper limit cannot be put too early, because of the mention of *śakas, yavanas, pahlavas* and other tribes, and probably does not go beyond the commencement of the Christian era. It is difficult to settle the relative age of the *sūtra* and the *kārikā*-texts; but if the tendency towards *sūtra-bhāṣya* style may be presumed to have been generally prevelant in the last few centuries B.C., then the suspected *sūtra*-text of Bharata belongs apparently to this period[1]. It was certainly much earlier than the present *kārikā*-text, in which Bharata already appears as a mythical sage as an expounder of the *nāṭya-veda.*

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kṛśāśvin and *bharata*) from the names of the three well-known teachers on dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers to the formation of the first two terms, but not that of the third ; but this silenee of the grammarian does not prove anything. The Jaina *Aṇuogadārasutta* (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-145, also quoted in Weber ii 2, pp. 701-02) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the middle of the 5th century, mentions nine *rasas*, which, however, have hardly any reference poetic or dramatic *rasas* ; but the enumeration is interesting from the inclusion of *praśānta* (not mentioned by Bharata), apparently from religious motives.

1 It will be shown later that the tradition that Bharata was the author of a *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*, which forms in substance of the *kārikā*-verses of Mammata's *Kav. prak.*, is entirely erroneous, as is also the statement made use of by Lévi

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON BHARATA

The names of the reputed as well as actual commentators on Bharata mentioned by Abhinavagupta and Śārṅgadeva are:

1 Udbhaṭa?
2 Lollaṭa
3 Śaṅkuka
4 Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
5 Rāhala or Rāhula?
6 Bhaṭṭa Yantra?
7 Abhinavagupta
8 Kīrtidhara
9 Mātṛguptâcārya?

Of these, we have already discussed the unauthenticated or doubtful names marked here with an interrogation.[1] Of Kīrtidhara we know nothing. No commentary on Bharata exists today except that of Abhinavagupta, which, voluminous as it is, certainly deserves to be published.

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that these *kārikās* are abridged from the *Agni-purāṇa.* Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* (959-60 A. D.) refers, indeed, to a *bharata-praṇīta kavyâdhyāya* (Peterson ii p. 45) which, considering Somadeva's date, could not have alluded to this tradition of Bharata's authorship of Mammaṭa's *kārikās*, but possibly, from the terms of reference, to ch. xvi of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals with *kāvyâlaṃkāras* and *guṇas* as embellishments of the dramatic speech.

1 see above p. 26 fn

LOLLAṬA AND ŚAṄKUKA

Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka are known definitely as commentators on Bharata not only from Abhinavagupta's references to them as such, but also from numerous other writers following him [1]. To Śaṅkuka, who is also cited as Śaṅku, are also ascribed several verses in the anthologies of Śarṅgadhara, Jalhaṇa and Vallabhadeva [2], which indicates that there was also a poet of the same name. Kalhaṇa mentions (iv 703-5) a poet Śaṅkuka and his poem *Bhuvanâbhyudaya.* The reference is to the time of Ajitapīḍa, whose date is given as 813 by Cunningham and as 816 A.D. by S.P. Pandit. If our Śaṅkuka is identical with this poet, then he may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century. As to the date of Lollaṭa, we have no materials to decide, but all later citations agree in supporting the tradition that he was earlier than Śaṅkuka, whose theory on *rasa* is said to have been directly levelled against that of Lollaṭa. Judging from his name, Lollaṭa was probably a Kasmirian ; and if any chronological inference may be drawn from Abhinavagupta's reference to an opinion of the Kasmirian Udbhaṭa being

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1 e. g. Mamaṭa *Kav. prak. ad* iv 5, p. 87 (ed. B. S. S. 1917) ; Hemacandra p. 67 comm., p.215 ; *Taralā* pp. 85, 88 ; Govinda in *Pradīpa ad* iv 5, p. 63. etc.

2 in the first two, Śaṅkuka is called the son of Mayūra, who is identified by some with the author of the *Sūrya-śataka*, a contemporary of Bāṇa.

controverted by Lollaṭa[1], he may have been later than or contemporaneous with Udbhaṭa, whose latest date is 813 A. D. These hypothetical facts give us the curious conclusion that Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka were probably contemporaries or lived sufficiently near one another in point of time.[2]

BHAṬṬA NĀYAKA

Besides referring to him as a commentator on Bharata, Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 27), as well as Jayaratha (p. 9), quotes under the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka a verse *śabda-prādhānyam āśritya*, which Hemacandra (p. 4) gives as a quotation from a work, entitled *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which is also cited without the name of the author by Mahimabhaṭṭa and his commentator. This makes it probable that some lost work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's probably bore that title, and also indicates the probable source of the quota-

1 The passage is cited above p. 26 footnote.

2 The theory of *rasa* advocated by Lollaṭa probably obtained in the schools before he definitely formulated it and became its first noted champion; for Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata (ch. vi, the same passage utilised later by Hemacandra, Comm. p. 57, ll. 18-19) says that Daṇḍin in his idea of *rasa* follows the same view. Unless we presume Lollaṭa's priority to Daṇḍin, we should take this passage to indicate that this theory, or a dogma similar to it, had already been known to Daṇḍin, even before Lollaṭa brought it into prominence. It may also be noted that Lollaṭa is also taken by most later writers (e. g. Hemacandra p. 215, Mammaṭa pp. 225 f; Mahimabhaṭṭa p. 27 etc.) as as what is technically known as *dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin* with

tion which occurs immediately before the verse in question in Abhinavagupta. It is, however, not clear whether this *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* is in reality his lost commentary on Bharata. Mahimabhaṭṭa's anonymous commentator tells us that this *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, like the *Vyakti-viveka*, was composed with the special object of demolishing the *dhvani*-theory formulated by Ānandavardhana [1]: and this statement may explain why Abhinavagupta, the great champion of the *dhvani*-theory, takes so much pains to controvert Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views in his *Locana* as well as in his *Abhinava-bhāratī*. This also adds a significance to the fact that Mahimabhaṭṭa, who had a similar object of combating the *dhvani*-theory, claims entire originality for his own treatment, boasting that he had never looked in the *Darpaṇa* at all[2]. The citations from the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* also indicate

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reference to the controversy about the function of *abhidhā*; for he is said to have maintained that the primary function of Denotation of a word is so far-reaching that it is competent in itself to express all other implied or suggested sense. The Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians had already discussed the question of *abhidhā*; but it must not be forgotten that several attempts to explain the fact of suggested sense (*dhvani*) obtained before the Dhvanikāra himself. It is probable that Lollaṭa was one of those who offered one of the several early solutions to the question, alluded to in the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka*.

1 *darpaṇo...........hṛdaya-darpaṇākhyo dhvani-dvaṃsa-granthaḥ* p. 1, explaining the pun in the word *darpaṇa* used by Mahiman in i 4.

2 *adṛṣṭa-darpaṇā mama dhīḥ* i 4.

that it was probably composed in a metrical form, and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary.

A careful examination of the very few passages apparently referring to this work will shew that the topics dealt with in it centre round the question of *dhvani* in poetry, in correlation with the theory of *rasa* intimately connected therewith. Abhinava, for instance, while discussing the verse *bhama dhammia vīsattho*, which is given by Ānandavardhana as an instance of suggestion with an expressed injunction implying a prohibition, refutes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's opinion as to this negative implication. In another place, Abhinava criticises the significance attached by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka to the word *aham* in the verse *attā ettha ṇimajjai*, which is discussed by Ānandavardhana as an example of suggestion of a contrary kind where the expressed prohibition implies an injunction. It is evident from these references that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work, like Mahimabhaṭṭa's, was designed not merely as a refutation of the general theory of *dhvani*, but also as a special attack on Ānandavardhana's exposition of the same. To take a minute point, the Dhvanikāra in i 13 uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with a special object in view, as Ānandavardhana's (as well as Abhinava's) explanation rightly indicates. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have attacked this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinavagupta remarks : ***bhaṭṭa-nāyakena yad dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.***[1]

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1 Mahimabhaṭṭa also refers (p. 19) to this discussion, quoting these words of Abhinava from the *Locana*.

It is apparent, therefore, that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* was not a commentary on Bharata, but a metrical treatise in the *anuṣṭup* metre, dealing with the question of *dhvani*, and incidentally with the question of *rasa-dhvani*. No doubt, Abhinava in his own commentary on Bharata, as well numerous other later writers taking their cue from Abhinava, criticises at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of *rasa*, along with those of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka and with special reference to Bharata's particular *sūtra* on the subject; yet Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nowhere mentioned directly as a commentator on the same text. It is probable that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's peculiar theory of *rasa* (which, however, bears a resemblance to Abhinava's own) called for a special refutation in the hands of this champion of the *dhvani*-theory, because Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka denied the expressive function of *dhvani* and attempted to explain the concept by postulating the function of *bhogīkaraṇa*. But there is no definite indication to shew that this theory of *rasa*, being a corrollary to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general theory of expression, was not incidental to his main thesis, directed towards the demolition of the new idea of the *dhvani* and establishment of another explanation of the fact of Suggestion (*dhvani*). This may be the reason why Śārṅgadeva, in his enumeration of Bharata's commentators before his time, omits the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. [1]

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1 See p. 26-27 above, footnote. Similarly Ruyyaka, while reviewing the different systems which obtained before his time, mentions Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka not as a commentator but

There can hardly be any doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was familiar with the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, including Ānandavardhana's *vṛtti*, and should, therefore, be placed in a period later than the date of Ānandavardhana. This conclusion is supported by the statement of Jayaratha (p. 12) that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka lived after the Dhvanikāra, by whom Jayaratha, like many other later writers, invariably means Ānandavardhana without distinguishing him from the so-called Dhvanikāra. On the other hand, the oldest writer to cite Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is Abhinavagupta, from whom he does not appear to be chronologically very distant. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, flourished between the last quarter of the 9th century and the last quarter of the 10th; and it will not be wrong if we assign him to the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. This date makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested, with the Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa (v 159) as having flourished in the reign of Śaṅkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman of Kasmir.

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Although Abhinavagupta contented himself with the writing of commentaries in the field of Sanskrit Poetics, his works have almost the value of independent treatises for their profound erudition and critical acumen, and deserve a separate treatment. As his

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as an independent author who advocated a new system in common with other explanations of the *dhvani*-theory (p. 9, ed. Kāvyamālā).

reputation in Poetics rests on his exposition of the *dhvani*-theory, it will be better to take him up in connexion with the Dhvanikāra and Anandavardhana.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 284b, 396a, ii 61b iii 61a ; *Madras Cat.* 12999-13001.

Note. In addition to authorities already cited, see Heymann in *GN* 1874 pp. 86f. ; Sten Konow, *Zur Fruhgeschichte des indischen Theaters*, München 1917, pp. 106f. Works and articles on the origin and history of the Indian drama are numberles and some of them make incidental references to Bharata and his work : for bibliography, therefore, see Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, Columbia 1906, which however is hardly exhaustive.

III BHAMAHA

(1)

The earliest direct citation of Bhāmaha in later Alaṃkāra literature is to be found in two passages in Ānandavardhana's *vṛtti* on the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 39,207). The next interesting reference occurs in the commentary of Pratīhārendurāja, who informs us (p. 13) that his author Udbhaṭa composed a work, presumably a commentary, on Bhāmaha, which is described here as *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*. This statement is confirmed by Abhinavagupta (*Locana* pp. 10,40, 159, *vivaraṇakṛt*) and Hemachandra (Comm. pp. 17,110); while Ruyyaka cites the commentary generally as *bhāmahīya udbhaṭa-lakṣaṇa* (p. 183) and Samudrabandha discribes it as *kāvyālaṃkāra-vivṛti* (p. 89). There are also numerous passages in Udbhaṭa's independent work, *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, which unmistakably copy some of the definitions of poetic figures directly from Bhāmaha, and do not hesitate to repeat the very language of the earlier work[1].

Vāmana, Udbhaṭa's contemporary, also appears to betray an acquaintance with Bhāmaha's text.

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1 see, for instance, the definitions of the figures *rasavat, atiśayôkti, sasaṃdeha, sahôkti, apahnuti, utprekṣā, yathā-saṃkhya, aprastuta-praśaṃsā paryāyôkta, ākṣepa, vibhāvanā, virodha* and *bhāvika.*

Bhāmaha, for instance, defines the figure *upamā* (ii 30) as *virudhenôpamānena......upameyasya yat sāmyaṃ guṇa-leśena sôpamā*; and Vāmana seems to paraphrase this definition in the concise form of a *sūtra upamānenôpameyasya guṇa-leśataḥ sāmyam upamā* (IV.2.1).[1] Again, speaking of effective implication (*atiśayavān arthaḥ*) to be found in *upamā*, Bhāmaha lays down (ii 50)

yasyâtiśayvān arthaḥ kathaṃ sô'sambhavo mataḥ
iṣṭaṃ câtiśayârthatvam upamôtprekṣayor yathā.

Reading together Vāmana IV.2.20 and 21 (*anupapattir asambhavaḥ* and *na viruddhô'tiśayaḥ*), we find that Vāmana is apparently repeating the same view; and in his *vṛtti* on the first *sūtra*, he adds *upamāyām atiśayasyêṣṭatvāt*, making it clear in the next *sūtra* that an effective implication (*atiśaya*), which is contradictory, should be avoided. Vāmana also reproduces anonymously a verse of an unknown poet whose name is given by Bhāmaha (ii 46) with the same verse as Śākhavardhana. Such repetition of views in more or less standardised phraseology in a technical treatise, or the quotation of the same illustrative verse in a similar context need not be taken as conclusive; but Vāmana, in his *vṛtti* on V. 2.38, actually though not accurately quotes, a part of a verse from Bhāmaha ii 27, and comments on the peculiar usage of the word *bhaṅguram* employed therein.[2]

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1 Cf Bharata xvi 41.

2 The verse is quoted with Bhāmaha's name in Jayamaṅgala on Bhaṭṭi x 21, and anonymously in the *Vakrôkti-*

This will justify us in placing Bhāmaha chronologically before Udbhaṭa and Vāmana who, as we shall see, flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., and will give us one terminus to the date of Bhāmaha.

With regard to the other terminus, controversy has been keen and busy. Pāṭhak finds in the mention of a *nyāsakāra* in Bhāmaha vi 36 a clear reference to the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi, author of a commentary (ed. Varendra Research Society) on the ***Kāśikā,*** and comes to the conclusion that "as the *nyāsakāra* (meaning Jinendra) lived about 700 A.D., Bhāmaha must be assigned to the 8th century".[1] Against this K. P. Trivedī has demonstrated [2] that the allusion to the opinions of the *nyāsakāra* cannot be taken as an unmistakable reference to Jinendrabuddhi's views, and that the existence of some other *nyāsakāras* are also made probable by the citations of Mādhava, as well as by a punning passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita.*[3] Jacobi [4] has joined issue by adding a doubt on the correctness of the date assigned by Pāṭhak to Jinendrabuddhi who, on the authority of Kielhorn, was probably later than Haradatta (d. 878 A.D.).

Jīvita (along with other verses from Bhāmaha.) and in *Locana* p. 40 anonymously.

1 *IA* xli p. 232 ff, at p. 235; see also *JRASBom* xxiii pp. 25-26.

2 *IA* xlii pp. 204 f, and at pp. 260-1.

3 *kṛta-guru-padanyāsaḥ* (ed N. S. P. p. 96), explained by Śaṅkara as *kṛtôbhyasto guru-pade durbodha-śabde nyāso vṛttir vivaraṇo yaiḥ.*

4 *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv (1922) pp. 210-11.

No fresh light is thrown on the question by the conjecture[1] that Bhāmaha in i 42 refers to the *Meghadūta* by his condemnation of the poetical device of employing clouds, among other things, as messengers; nor by Pāṭhak's other equally fanciful supposition that Māgha ii 86b refers to Bhāmaha i 16[2]. Nothing, again, is gained by the controversy over the question whether Bhāmaha, the son of Rakrilagomin and worshipper of Sārva, was a Buddhist, as indicated by the opening and closing verses of his work.[3] Jacobi's recent researches, however, have shown[4] that Bhāmaha has made considerable use of the teachings of Buddhist philosophers in ch. v, and that the upper limit to Bhāmaha's date should be determined with reference to that of Buddhist Dharmakīrti, some of whose philosophical doctrines Bhāmaha has utilised, even to the repitition of Dharmakīrti's actual phraseology. Dharmakīrti is placed by Jacobi between the sojourn in India of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing respectively (630—643 and 673—695 A. D.), as he is not known to the former, while the latter refers to him among those of late years[5]. The upper limit,

1 Haricānd, *L'Art Poétique de l'Inde* p. 77.

2 But see Daṇḍin i 10 ; Vāmana I. 1. 1 (*vṛtti*) ; Rudraṭa ii 1 ; Ānandavardhana p. 5, for the same idea of *śabda* and *artha* as constituents of poetry.

3 On this controversy, see *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 535 f ; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 543f ; Trivedī introd. to *Pratāparudra* ; Haricānd in *op. cit.* p. 71 ; *Brahmavādin* 1911 etc.

4 *op. cit.* pp. 211-12.

5 see Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896, p. 181, cf p. lviii. Tārānātha in his *Geschichte* (tr. Schiefner

therefore, of Bhāmaha's date should be fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A. D.

This will place Bhāmaha approximately in the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the last quarter of 8th century ; and as it is probable that he might have been a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti's and also presumably lived some time before his commentator Udbhaṭa, it will not be wrong if we place him towards the end of the 7th and the commencement of the 8th century A. D.

(2)

We have already discussed the relation which Bharata's treatment of *alaṃkāras* might have borne to Bhāmaha's much fuller and later disquisition. What we find in Bharata constitutes the earliest speculation on the subject that we possess : but Bhāmaha himself tells us that he had predecessors whose work he apparently utilised. While referring to these predecessors (or contemporaries) generally as *anye*[1], *apare*[2] or *kecit*[3], Bhāmaha cites twice by name one Medhā-

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pp. 184-5) makes him a contemporary of the Tibetan king, Strong-bstan-sgam-po, who died about 650 A. D. Cf Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

1 i 13, 24 ; ii 4, 57 ; iii 4 ; iv 12 etc.

2 i 14, 15, 31 ; ii 6, 8 ; iii 4 ; iv 6 etc.

3 ii 2, 37, 93 ; iii 54 etc. He also cites one Rāmaśarman in ii 19, but from ii 58 this author appears to be a poet. The Rājamitra cited in ii 45 appears from iii 10 to be a *kāvya*.

vin in ii 40,88. One of these passages is referred to by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa xi 24, where (as well as in two other places on i 2, ii 2,) the full name is given as Medhāvirudra, which form also occurs in Rājaśekhara (p. 12)[1]. This writer, who was earlier than Bhāmaha but probably later than Bharata, is also cited by Vallabhadeva on *Śiśu* xi 6.

At one time it was believed [2], on the indication given by the *Jayamaṅgalā* on Bhaṭṭi, that the *alaṃkāra*-chapters in that *kāvya*, especially canto x, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhāmaha in particular ; but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha will readjust his relation to Bhaṭṭi in a new light. Bhaṭṭi tells us in xxii 35 that he composed his poem in Valabhī ruled over by Śrīdharasena. [3] It appears that no less than four Śrīdharasenas ruled at Valabhī roughly between 550 and 650 A.D., of whom the last flourished, as his latest grant shows,

1 Rājaśekhara couples Medhāvirudra's name with that of Kumāradāsa and adds the information that he was a born-blind poet. The name does not constitute the names of two different poets, Medhāvin and Rudra, as some writers unfortunately suggest, nor need we take it on the late authority of the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* as a name of Kālidāsa.

2 Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv.

3 *kāvyam idaṃ vihitaṃ mayā valabhyāṃ / śrīdharasena-narendra-pālitāyām.* Jayamaṅgala reads *śrīdhara-sūnu-narendra°* in the second line, but this cannot be supported in view of the fact that we do not hear of any prince of the name Narendra, son of Śrīdhara, in the list of Valabhī princes known to us. Mallinātha and Bharatamallika do not comment on this verse.

in 651 A. D. Bhaṭṭi, therefore, at the latest, lived in the first half of the 7th century; and if, as his editor concludes,[1] he may be assigned to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, he was certainly older than Bhāmaha by almost a century. Bhāmaha probably knew his work and therefore remarked, while dismissing verbal juggleries like *prahelikā* (ii 20):

kāvyānyapi yadīmāni vyākhyā-gamyāni śāstravat
utsavaḥ sudhiyām eva hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ

with a pointed reference to Bhaṭṭi's self-boasting in xxii 34:

vyākhyā-gamyam idam kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmin vidvat-priyatayā mayā.

The treatment of *alaṃkāras* in Bhaṭṭi may, therefore, be presumed to supply one of the missing links in the history of rhetorical speculations anterior to Bhāmaha. A remarkable coincidence of treatment, which probably started the theory of Bhaṭṭi's appropriation of Bhāmaha's teachings, is at once noticeable not only in the order, number and naming of the different poetic figures, but also in their respective characterisation; but a detailed examination will at the same time shew that beneath this general agreement there are enough discrepancies which will indicate that neither of them follows scrupulously the views of the other. The agreement apparently shows that the two authors were not chronologically distant from each other by such a considerable length of time

1 ed. B. S. S. introd. p. xxii.

as might betoken a material difference in the number, order or definition of the poetic figures; while the discrepancies may be reasonably explained as indicating that they did not probably draw from the same source.

The special object of this particular canto in Bhaṭṭi being that of illustrating the various forms of poetic figures prevelant in his time, we may presume that it was probably based on a particular treatise on Alaṃkāra to which the poet faithfully adheres. He mentions in all 38 such independent figures, along with 39 sub-species of some individual figures. He does not himself give the names of these figures, but they are indicated by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, as well as in some MSS which apparently preserve the traditional nomenclature. These, with one trifling exception (*udāra* = *udātta*), correspond to the particular names given to them in Bhāmaha. As to the order or sequence of treatment, a comparative table will show that Bhāmaha gives the first 23 figures (up to ***viśeṣôkti***) in the same order as in Bhaṭṭi with the exception of the pairs, *rūpaka* and *dīpaka*, ***arthântara-nyāsa*** and *ākṣepa*, which are given in an inversed order. The rest of the figures appears with a slightly different arrangement, because Bhāmaha admits ***aprastuta-praśaṃsā*** omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and adopts a somewhat different order in mentioning the five figures here treated in common, until we come to ***virodha***. From here, again, the order is the same, excepting that Bhāmaha mentions *bhāvika* (which is separately illustrated in another canto by Bhaṭṭi) and Bhaṭṭi admits an unknown figure ***nipuṇa***, and adds

hetu which is expressly rejected by Bhāmaha. As the exposition of Jayamaṅgla shows, Bhaṭṭi generally follows the definitions of Bhāmaha, where the figures are common (even in the cases of sub-species of these figures [1]), with only a few exceptions.

These exceptions, though few, are yet significant. They refer in particular to the figures *yamaka* (of which Bhaṭṭi mentions 20, while Bhāmaha only 5 sub-species), *upamā* (where the treatment of sub-species is slightly divergent), *rūpaka* (of which the four sub-species of Bhaṭṭi do not correspond to the two of Bhāmaha), *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and *nipuṇa* omitted by Bhāmaha. At the same time, Bhāmaha mentions but rejects *prahelikā*, *hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leśa* and *vārttā*, of which Bhaṭṭi admits only *hetu* (probably as an after-thought) and *vārttā*. Bhaṭṭi does not recognise *svabhāvôkti*, which is mentioned but apparently disfavoured by Bhāmaha. It is possible that Bhaṭṭi's original ended naturally with *āśis*,

1 e. g. the figure *ākṣepa*, of which the two sub-divisions *uktá-viṣaya* and *vakṣyamāṇa-viṣaya* are found in both Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, they being unaware of the different interpretation of Vāmana and the somewhat fine differentiations of Daṇḍin. The same remark applies to *dīpaka* and its three sub-species, which do not agree with the exposition of Bharata, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. Cf also the three sub-species of *śleṣa*, viz. *sahôkti-śl°* *upamā-śl°*, and *hetu-śl°*, illustrated by Bhaṭṭi and mentioned by Bhāmaha in iii 17, although later writers, like Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, speak of *śleṣa* as coming with many other figures. Pratīhārendurāja distinctly alludes to this division admitted by Bhāmaha : ***bhāmaho hi "tat sahôktyupamā-hetu-nirdeśāt trividhaṃ yathā" iti śliṣṭasya traividhyam āha*** (p. 47).

as Bhāmaha's work itself does; but he tacked on *hetu* and *nipuṇa*[1] as two supplementary figures popular in his time. The *bhāvika*, which both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin call a *prabandha-guṇa*, is illustrated by Bhaṭṭi in a separate canto (xii), entitled *bhāvikatva-pradarśana*. But by far the greatest divergence is noticeable in the treatment of the subspecies of *yamaka*, *rūpaka* and *upamā*. No two writers are indeed agreed with regard to the treatment and classification of *yamaka*, and Bhaṭṭi on this point is scarcely in agreement with any of the known writers on the subject, such as Bharata, Daṇḍin Rudraṭa, the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among earlier authorities. Probably he is drawing from some old author whose work is not known to us[2] In the classification of *rūpaka*, which Bhāmaha sub-divides into *samastavastu-viṣaya* and *ekadeśa-vivarti*, Bhaṭṭi seems to follow a different tradition, which mentions four sub-species, respectively designated as *kamalaka* (*viśiṣṭôpamā-yukta*), *avataṃsaka*

1 This figure is included in *udāra* or *udātta* by Jayamaṅgala, while Bharatamallika and Mallinātha take it as an illustration of *preyas* on the authority of Daṇḍin and Devanātha (the latter probably a commentator on Mammaṭa having the same name).

2 The names of some of these sub-species of *yamaka* are now lost but for the naming of them in Bhaṭṭi, and later authors speak in altogether different terminology. Some of these are apparently preserved in Bharata, who mentions as many as ten sub-species, but in most cases they are differently defined. For instance, the *samudga* of Bhaṭṭi may be the same figure as defined by Bharata, but the *yukpāda* of

(*śeṣârthânvavasita* or *khaṇḍa-rūpaka*[1]), *ardha-rūpaka* and *lalāmaka* (*anvarthôpamā-yukta*). In the sub-species of *upamā*, Bhaṭṭi illustrates *upamā* with *iva*-and-*yathā* (in common with Bhāmaha); and his *luptôpamā* and *taddhitôpamā* probably correspond to some extent to *samāsôpamā* and *upamā*-with-*vat* mentioned by Bhāmaha; but Bhaṭṭi does not illustrate *prativastûpamā* of Bhāmaha nor does he refer, to *nindo*°, *praśaṃso*°, *ācikhyāso*° and *mālo*°, criticised by Bhāmaha but recognised by Daṇḍin[2]. At the same time, Bhaṭṭi's *saho*° and *samo*° have nothing directly corresponding to them in Bhāmaha.

It will be clear from this brief exposition that, leaving aside the sub-species, there is a general agreement between the treatments of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha with regard to the independent poetic figures. It

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Bhaṭṭi x 2 is called *vikrānta* by Bharata and is known as *sandaṣṭa* in Rudraṭa. Similarly the *pādânta* illustrated in x 3 is called °*āmreḍita* in Bharata; while *cakravāla* of Bharata is different from the figure so named in Bhaṭṭi and seems to coincide with the *kāñcī* of the latter, while the *kāñcī* of Bharata is an altogether different sub-species It appears that names like *vṛnta*, *mithuna*, or *vipatha* cannot be traced in any of the existing works, but some of the kinds illustrated by Bhaṭṭi under these strange names may be found under different designations in other writers later than Bhaṭṭi. In naming these in Bhaṭṭi, Jayamaṅgala is probably following a tradition or an authority entirely unknown to us.

1 mentioned in *Vāgbhaṭâlaṃkāra* iv 66.

2 Bharata (xvi 49-50) mentions *nindo*° and *praśaṃso*°, while his *kalpito*° probably corresponds to *ācikhyāso*°. The *kalpito*° is admitted by Vāmana (IV. 2. 2) but apparently defined in a different sense.

may be noted that Bhāmaha agrees with Bhaṭṭi in taking *ananvaya*, *sasaṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣâvayava* as self-standing figures, while Daṇḍin includes the first two in the sub-species of *upamā*, and the last two in those of *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively.[1] Bhāmaha also agrees with Bhaṭṭi in rejecting *prahelikā*, *sūkṣma* and *leśa*; but *vārttā* and *hetu*, also similarly rejected by Bhāmaha, are admitted by Bhaṭṭi. Daṇḍin expressly recognises all these, excepting *vārttā*, in place of which he probably admits the more comprehensive *svabhāvôkti*, which is disfavoured by Bhāmaha and not illustrated by Bhaṭṭi. The most material discrepancy with reference to independent figures occurs in the remarkable omission in Bhaṭṭi of *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* (which, like *svabhāvôkti*, is a recognised figure in later times) and in the occurrence of *nipuṇa* unknown in later literature. Coming to the sub-species, however, the discrepancies are more striking. Admitting that some of the fine differentiations, as in the case of Daṇḍin's inumerable sub-varieties of independent figures, may have been invented by the ingenuity of the author himself, this argument does not seem to apply very well to Bhaṭṭi, who was himself no theorist but only professed to illustrate the poetic figures popular in his time and presumably based his treatment on some standard treatise. The conclusion, therefore, is likely

1 Daṇḍin is followed in this view by all later writers, except Vāmana, who still regards these as independent figures. It seems therefore that Vāmana VI. 3. 33 is a criticism of Daṇḍin ii 359, and not *vice versa*, as Peterson supposes.

that Bhaṭṭi made use of a text unknown to Bhāmaha but not materially differing from Bhāmaha's own sources; and that the interval between these two authors did not witness much change in the discussion of poetic figures, except what is apparent in the simplification of the treatment of *yamaka* and *rūpaka*, in the dropping of a figure like *nipuṇa* and adding an important figure or an important sub-figure like *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* or *prativastūpamā* respectively. The progress is not so remarkable as that indicated by the enormous stride made in the interval between Bharata, who mentions only four independent figures, and Bhaṭṭi, who mentions thirty-eight.[1]

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Mss. Oppert 3731; *Madras Cat.* 12920.

Commentary. The only known comm. is *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* by Udbhaṭa, which is now lost. See above p. 45.

1 Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit, it attaches itself (besides two verses in *Subhāṣ.* 1644-1645 that are also found in our text ii 92, iii 21) to a commentator on Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, who is probably a different author. The *Kāmadhenu* comm. on Vāmana also cites several verses from a treatise apparently on the *kalās* by Bhāmaha (p. 29, ed. Benares); but as our Bhāmaha, as well as his *Bhāmahâlaṃkāra* (p. 39), is also cited in several places in the same commentary, it is possible that these verses occurred in some lost chapter of his work where he mentioned the names of the *kalās* (*atra kalānām uddeśaḥ kṛto bhāmahena* preceding the verses cited).

IV DANDIN

(1)

The date of Daṇḍin is one of the most difficult problems in the chronology of Alaṃkāra literature. Anandavardhana does not directly cite him, as he cites Bhāmaha, and the earliest mention of Daṇḍin's name occurs in Pratīhārendurāja (p. 26). Daṇḍin's own work gives us hardly any clue. His references to the *Bṛhatkathā* written in *bhūtabhāṣā* (i 38), or to the *Setubandha* known to him in *māhārāṣṭrī* version (i 34) throw little light on the question; and no definite chronological conclusion is deducible from the verses ii 278-79, which express, under the form of the figure *preyas*, the supreme gratification of a certain king, Rājavarman (or Rātavarman), on the occasion of his obtaining the much-coveted beatific vision of his adored deity.[1] The solution

1 Rājavarman is conjectured by some (Raṅgācārya's preface p. 8; also Agashe's preface to *Daśakumāra*° ed B. S. S. pp. lvii f) to be Rājasiṃhavarman, otherwise known as Narasiṃhavarman II of Kāñcī (end of the 7th century), one of whose *birudas* (viz, *kālakāla* which is also a name of Śiva), Daṇḍin is supposed to have alluded to in iii 50; while iii 25 is presumed to imply a pun referring to the royal token (*mahā-varāha*) of Cālukya Pulakeśin II. But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince; and, as Pischel suggested, the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work referring to his story. Cf Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 214.

proposed to the *prahelikā* in iii 114 (also cf iii 112) by Taruṇavācaspati and other commentators that it refers to the Pallava kings of Kāñcī[1] only supports the Tamil tradition that Daṇḍin was probably a South Indian author. The allusion to Daṇḍin i 1, again, in a verse attributed by Śārṅgadhara (no. 180) to Vijjā or Vijjakā (whose date is unknown but who is tentatively supposed by some to be Vijayā, wife of Candrâditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II, about 659 A. D.)[2], implies merely a pleasant raillery at the expense of Daṇḍin by some later boastful poetess.

The only definite terminus to Daṇḍin's date is obtained from references in South Indian vernacular works on Alaṃkāra, belonging in all probability to the 9th century A.D., which cite him as an established authority. The Sinhalese treatise *Siya-bas-lakara*, which Barnett thinks cannot "in any case be later than the 9th century A.D."[3], cites Daṇḍin in v 2 as one of its authorities. The Kanarese work *Kavirājamārga*, attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga (who flourished about the first half of the 9th century), gives six verses[1] which

1 The phrase *aṣṭa-varṇa* occurring in the *prahelikā* is also found, as Mr. G. K. Śaṅkara points out in the Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarman I. Premacandra on Daṇḍin interprets *puṇḍraka* instead of *pallava* in the verse, which fact indicates that it is capable of a different interpretation.

2 See Agashe *op. cit.* pp. lix f.

3 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 841. The work has been edited by Hendrick Jayatilaka, Colombo 1892.

4 viz., those defining *asādhāraṇôpamā*, *asaṃbhavôpamā*, *anuśayâkṣepa*, *viśeṣôkti*, *hetu* and *atiśayôkti* respectively.

are exact translations of corresponding verses in Daṇḍin. Pāṭhak, in the introduction to his edition of this work (p. 19), further adds that in ch. iii most of the verses "are either translations or adaptations from the *Kāvyādarśa*", and that there are also convincing indications of Daṇḍin's "influence on other parts of the work" as well.

This will give us the 9th century as the lower limit to Daṇḍin's work, a conclusion which may also be established by showing that Daṇḍin was probably earlier than Vāmana, who may be assigned to the beginning of the same period. We need not enter into this point in detail here, but there are several unmistakable indications which show that Vāmana's work betrays a further progress in the elaboration of some of the fundamental ideas which are dealt with by Daṇḍin. The stress which Daṇḍin puts on the theory of *rīti* (which he calls *mārga*) is carried to its furthest extreme by Vāmana, who elevates *rīti* to the rank of the very essence of poetry. While Daṇḍin mentions two types of *mārga*, Vāmana adds an intermediate third *rīti*; and from Mammaṭa ix 4 we learn that Vāmana was the first to suggest this three-fold division.[1] Again, while Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin apparently engage in a controversy over the classification of *kāvya* into *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, Vāmana peremptorily brushes aside all discussion and

1 It is noteworthy also that Daṇḍin is unaware of the more or less technical term *rīti*, made so familiar by Vāmana, but uses the almost synonymous expression *mārga*, also used by Vāmana in III. 1. 12.

refers the curious reader to the works of "others."[1] Daṇḍin is also anxious to show, in the course of a long digression, that the word *iva* is indicative of *utprekṣā* (which figure itself is admitted by Bhāmaha only in deference to the views of Medhāvin[2]); but to Vāmana (IV. 3. 9, *vṛtti*) it is already an established fact. Such instances can be easily multiplied, but what is given here will be enough to indicate Daṇḍin's priority to Vāmana[3], and fix the lower limit of his

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1 *yac ca kathākhyāyikā mahā kāvyam iti tallakṣaṇaṃ ca nātīva hṛdayaṅgamam ityupekṣitam asmābhiḥ, tad anyto grāhyam*, on I. 3. 32.

2 ii 88.

3 It is supposed by Kielhorn (with whom Peterson in his pref. to *Daśakumāra*⁰ agrees) that Daṇḍin ii 51, in which some of the *upamā-doṣas* are justified, is directed against Vāmana IV. 2. 8f, implying thereby that Daṇḍin is later than Vāmana. But if we take the texts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana together on this point, we can only make out the following facts. Bhāmaha, in accordance with the opinion of Medhāvin, brings forward (ii 39-40) seven *upamā-doṣas*, viz., deficiency (*hīnatva*), impossibility (*asaṃbhava*) disparity of gender (*liṅga-bheda*), disparity of number (*vacana-bheda*), contrariety (*viparyaya*), excess (*adhikatva*) and non-similitude (*asādṛśya*). Daṇḍin, tacitly assuming these, only remarks about two pairs of them (viz., disparity of gender and number, excess and deficiency) that they do not necessarily disturb comparison if they do not wound the cultivated sensibility. In this he is substantially following Bhāmaha who says generally that the *upameya* cannot in every respect be similar to the *upamāna* (ii 43), a dictum which is implicitly accepted by most later writers, who define *upamā* as *bhedābheda-pradhāne upamā*. Therefore, deficiency etc. become faults

date at the end of the 8th and the commencement of the 9th century[1].

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only when they disturb the sense of appreciation of the man of taste. Vāmana, on the other hand, mentions six *upamā-doṣas* instead of seven, including *viparyaya* in *adhikatva* and *hīnatva* (IV. 2. 11 *vṛtti*), with the final pointed remark: *ata evâsmākaṃ mate ṣaḍ doṣāḥ*. It appears, therefore, that Daṇḍin ii 51f is a link in the chain between Bhāmaha ii 39f and Vāmaha IV. 2. 8f.

1 Pischel's argument (pref. to *Śṛṅg. til.*) that Daṇḍin is identical with the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika* on the ground that Daṇḍin ii 362 (ed. Bibl. Indica) occurs also in that drama (ed. N.S.P. 1916 i 34) lands us, apart from other objections, in the absurdity of identifying Daṇḍin with Bhāsa as well, inasmuch as the same verse is also found in the *Cārudatta* (i 19) and the *Bālacarita* (i 15). The attribution, again, of the same verse in Śārṅgadhara 3603 and Vallabhadeva 1890 to Bhartṛmeṇṭha and Vikramâditya further discredits Pischel's theory. The occurrence of the verse in Daṇḍin ii 226 with an introductory *iti* (cf Premacandra's remarks on this point) only shows that Daṇḍin did not disdain to borrow well-known verses for purposes of illustration and criticism, as he himself admits in a general way in i 2. It should also be noted that in the Bibl. Indica ed. of the text, the verse is given twice (1) as a half-verse quotation in ii 226 and (2) in full in ii 362. But this reading, on which apparently Pischel's theory was based, is doubtful, and is contrary to readings in other MSS. In the Tibetan version of the text (*JRAS*, 1903), as well as in the Madras edition, the verse occurs only once as a half-verse quotation in ii 226, the full verse being omitted in the text and given in the latter only in the accompanying commentary. This reading is also apparently followed in B.S.S. ed. of the text which is in course of publication. Pischel is hardly accurate in stating that Pratīhārendu attributes this verse to

(2)

The upper limit is not so easy to settle. Peterson, following Maheśacandra Nyāyaratna, points out[1] that Daṇḍin ii 197 is a reminiscence of a passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* p. 102, l. 16 (ed. B. S. S.), and Jacobi is inclined to accept this view. Bāṇa lived about 606-647 A.D. in the reign of king Harṣa, whose biographer he was. Jacobi also points out a resemblance between Daṇḍin ii 302 and Māgha ii 4. Pāṭhak, again, remarks[2] that Daṇḍin's three-fold classification of *karman* into *nirvartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya* (ii 240) is taken from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* iii 45f. Bhartṛhari, according to I-tsing, died about 651 A.D. while Māgha probably belongs to the second half to the 7th century[3]. Thus Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari and Māgha probably all belong the same age and flourished in the first half or the middle of the 7th century.

Daṇḍin: for the commentator, in the course of his discussion on *utprekṣā*, simply says that Daṇḍin has already discussed at great length that the verse *limptīva* is an illustration of *utprekṣā* containing *atiśaya*, p. 26.

1 Pref. to *Daśakumāra*°, new ed. 1919, p. ix. Other such reminiscences are presumed in Daṇḍin i 45 (=*Śakuntalā* i 20, ed. M. Williams; Cf. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 841f), ii 286 (=Raghu viii 57), ii 129 (=*Śakuntalā* i 26) etc. Taruṇavācaspati is of opinion (on i 2) that Daṇḍin consulted the usage of poets like Kālidāsa. See other parallel passages collected together by Agashe (preface to *Daśakumāra*,° pp. liv f).

2 *IA* xli p. 237.

3 See Kielhorn in *GN*, 1906, heft ii. Cf Māgha ii 83 where he shows himself fully conversant with Poetics.

These evidences, although suggestive, do not in their nature appear to be decisive; and we are ultimately thrown upon the question of Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāmaha, which might support these evidences and with reference to which, indeed, the chronology of Daṇḍin should be settled. If Bhāmaha's priority to Daṇḍin can be definitely established, then we arrive with this at a more or less satisfactory limit to the date of the latter. The question is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties; but so far as a comparative study of their respective texts indicates, the presumption is strong in favour of Bhāmaha's priority; because, while Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha's innovations, Bhāmaha apparently never does so in case of Daṇḍin's innovations which are indeed much more numerous. The materials for such a critical study (apart from a consideration of their general theories) consist of several passages, occurring in their respective texts, which are either (1) identical or very similar in phraseology, or (2) so closely related to each other that the one author appears to be criticising the other. As the question has already engaged a great deal of controversy[1], which has thrashed out almost all the details, we will here discuss it very briefly.

As instances of the first group of passages, we may cite Bh ii 81 and D ii 214, Bh iii 52 and D iii

1 *IA*, 1912, p. 90; *ibid*, p. 232; *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 535 f., *ibid*, p. 545; *JRASBom* xxiii p. 19; Trivedī, introd. to *Pratāpa-rudra*°, p. 32; Raṅgâcārya's pref. to *Kāvyâdarśa*; Anantâcārya in *Brahmavādin* 1911 (also published as a pamphlet); Jacobi in the article cited, etc.

363, Bh iii 5 and D ii 276, Bh iii 8 and D ii 295, Bh iv 8 and D iv 5. The verbal coincidence, indicated by these passages, is so striking that there can be no doubt that it should be taken as something more than merely accidental. It does not, however, preclude the possibility of their being taken from a common source, or being standardised definitions common enough in such technical treatises.

The second group of passages, also betraying enough verbal similarity, is more interesting and important; because they certainly express contradictory views of their respective authors, if not actually meant as direct mutual criticism. In two of these passages, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are, each in his turn, rejecting an illustration which is adduced by the other, but both citing the illustration in question in exactly identical phraseology. Thus Bhāmaha rejects (ii 87) the figure *hetu*, citing the illustration *gatô'stam arko bhātîndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ*. characterising it as bad poetry, to which, he says, some writers give the name of *vārttā*. Daṇḍin does not mention *vārttā*, but approvingly cites (ii 244) the same half-verse under the figure *hetu*, pointedly remarking that the illustration under discussion is good. Similarly, the half-verse *himâpahâmitra-dharair* is given as an instance of the fault *avācaka* by Bhāmaha (i 41), but Daṇḍin gives the verse in full in a different context (iii 120) as an example of a variety of *prahelikā*: Bhāmaha apparently condemning it as faulty, while Daṇḍin taking it as a piece of ingenious construction. Taking the examples in their contexts as quoted from a common source, the passages apparently indicate

that Daṇḍin is not in agreement with Bhāmaha (who condemns these) but expressly justifies their propriety.

A closer contact of views and similarity of expression are to be found in those passages in this group, which relate to (1) the discussion of the comparative merits of the *gauḍīya* and *vaidarbha mārgas* (Bh i 31-35 and D i 40 f) (2) the distinction between prose *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* (Bh i 25f and D i 23f) and (3) the enumeration of the ten *doṣas* (Bh iv 1-2 and D iv 2-4); and those who maintain Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha hold that in these cases the latter is undoubtedly criticising the former. In the first of these instances, Bhāmaha's remarks merely show that he is more or less indifferent to the literary value of *mārga* or *rīti* as modes of composition, and laughs at the distinction which some writers make between *gauḍa* and *vidarbha* types, himself giving preference, if any, to the former. In his opinion, as he says in the next verse (i 36), what is important in poetry is not *rīti* but *vakrókti*. It appears that the view which Bhāmaha is criticising was traditional or referred to as a matter of common controversy, as he himself says in this connexion : *gatánugatika-nyāyān nānákhyeyam amedhasām.* Jacobi points out that the *gauḍa mārga*, long before Daṇḍin, could never establish for itself a good reputation, and Bāṇa had already condemned it as *akṣara-ḍambara* (*Harṣa-carita* 1. 5. 7). Daṇḍin, on the other hand, attaches great importance to *rīti* in poetry, which under the name *mārga*, occupies a considerable part of his treatment; but he acknowledges, in spite

of his own distinguishing of two such extreme types as *gauḍa* and *vaidarbha*, that there are various other intermediate modes finely differentiated (i 40), and that the types admitted by him are not capable of exact definition (i 101f), although he himself prefers the *vaidarbha*. It may also be added that Bhāmaha is unaware of the peculiar analysis of *mārga* given by Daṇḍin with reference to the ten essential *guṇas*, but he mentions casually (and not in connexion with *rīti*) only three *guṇas* which may be admitted in all good composition. The respective characterisation, again, of the two *rītis* has hardly any point of contact, and Bhāmaha's remarks, if supposed to be levelled against Daṇḍin in particular, are certainly off the mark; for each of them approaches the subject from the standpoints of entirely different schools of opinion[1].

Similar remarks apply to the other two cases, in which one hardly finds any direct reference by Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin does not accept as characteristic or essential those marks of distinction between a *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* which Bhāmaha enumerates, and apparently quotes in this connexion the half-verse i 29a from Bhāmaha i 27b. The distinction, denied by Daṇḍin, is admitted, along with Bhāmaha, by earlier as well as later writers; for Bāṇa designates his *Harṣa-carita* as a *kathā* and his *Kādambarī* as an *ākhyāyikā*[2], and some such distinction is also implied by the *Amarakoṣa*. With regard to the other passages which enumerate

1 This point will be discussed in detail below in Part II.
2 See Taruṇavācaspati's remarks on Daṇḍin i 25.

the *doṣas*, it appears that Bhāmaha, following the traditional recounting of ten orthodox *guṇas* (cf Bharata xvi 84[1]), mentions the same number, but adds that *pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīnatva* is not desirable in poetry (iv 2). At the same time this eleventh defect is interesting to him from the standpoint of logical exposition, and he deals with it in v 1f. apparently considering that defective logic is also to be looked upon generally as a notable flaw in composition. Daṇḍin enumerates the same ten *guṇas* in exactly similar phraseology, and conservatively maintains the view that the so-called eleventh fault is difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss[2].

1 The definitions, however, do not agree. See Jacobi *op. cit.* pp. 222 f.

2 Emphasis is also put on some verbal resemblance between Bh i 22 and D i 21-22. In these passages, however, the standpoints of the two theorists are quite distinct, although they use similar phrases. Bhāmaha here expresses his disapproval of a disastrous ending, perhaps in conformity with a similar conventional prohibition in the drama. Daṇḍin, on the other hand, takes the ultimate triumph of the hero for granted, and does not trouble himself about the admittedly forbidden tragic ending. He only means to express the view that it will be artistically more effective if the rival of the hero is set forth at the outset in all his glory and then his downfall is secured through the superior virtue of the hero himself. One does not also find any point in Bhāmaha ii 37-38, which criticises the classification of the figure *upamā* into many sub-varieties (like *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* and *ācikhyāso°*) but which is taken by some to imply an attack on Daṇḍin's elaborate sub-division of the same figure. The *tri-prakāratvam* cannot possibly refer

From the above discussion, the conclusion is very probable that Daṇḍin was familiar with the text of Bhāmaha whom, as a notable predecessor expresssing contrary views, he could hardly ignore. On this point we have the almost unanimous testimony of Daṇḍin's commentators[1], who expressly state that in most of these disputed passages Daṇḍin controverts the earlier opinions of Bhāmaha. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter into the details of their respective theories, which not only indicate some fundamental and important differences, as one should expect in writers belonging to two different schools of opinion, but also the fact that Daṇḍin, in dealing with most of the topics, has gone into greater details and finer distinctions, apparently betokening that in his age the study was more advanced and fraught with greater complexity than in that of Bhāmaha[2].

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to Daṇḍin, who mentions not three but thirty-two sub-varieties; while *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* etc. are also mentioned by Bharata.

1 e. g. Taruṇavācaspati on i 23-24, 29; ii 235, 237, 358; iv 4 etc; Harinātha on i 15 (cited in *ABod* 206b); Vādijaṅghāla on i 21.

2 see, for instance, their respective views on *rīti*, *guṇa* and *doṣa*, on *alaṃkāra* (which last element Daṇḍin does not distinguish fundamentally from *guṇas*, ii 3), on *vakrôkti* (Bh ii 85 and D ii 362), their respective order of treatment of *alaṃkāras* (which Bhāmaha deals with in successive groups, while Daṇḍin's thirty-five independent poetic figures are given as if they are well recognised), Daṇḍin's minute and fine differentiation of infinite sub-species of individual figures, their respective treatment of *yamaka*, *upamā*, *utprekṣā*,

If this conclusion of Bhāmaha's probable priority is accepted, then we get his date as the upper limit to that of Daṇḍin, the lower limit being, as already discussed, the same as that of Bhāmaha, namely the date of Udbhaṭa's contemporary, Vāmana. Daṇḍin, therefore, flourished probably in the beginning or in the first half of the 8th century.

(3)

There cannot be any doubt that Daṇḍin, like Bhāmaha, must have been indebted to his predecessors; and if he does not mention any one of them by name, he gives enough evidence of his having utilised their works, including that of Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin, however, makes a general acknowledgement in i 2, and refers to the opinions of "others" and of "learned men" (e. g. i 9, 10, ii 54): while he makes no secret of his having "observed" and probably borrowed his illustrations from earlier poets, to whom reference is made in i 30,100 ; ii 65, 223, 225, 363, iv 7, 32, 42, 57[1]. The *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on i 2 mentions in particular two authors, named Kāśyapa and Vararuci, whose works Daṇḍin is supposed to have utilised. These may be mythical or traditional names: but Kāśyapa is also mentioned by another admirer of Daṇḍin's

ananvaya and *sasaṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* (which last four Daṇḍin does not accept as independent figures) etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

1 See this point discussed in Agashe *op. cit*, pp. liii f.

who composed the Sinhalese rhetorical work already referred to. One Kāśyapa is cited by Pāṇini in VIII.4.67, and a grammarian Kāśyapa, as Aufrecht notes, is quoted by Mādhava.

Pischel[1] has already negatived the suggestions of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa[2], Peterson[3] and Jacobi[4] that Daṇḍin in i 12 refers by the word *chando-viciti* to a treatise of his own, so named, on the subject of prosody. The word, however as indicated by Daṇḍin himself in the same verse, by his reference to it as *sā vidyā*, does not necessarily mean any particular treatise but the science of prosody in general; for which, in addition to the references given by Pischel, one need only cite Rājaśekhara p. 6 and Hemacandra, Comm. p. 5. In iv 49, again, Daṇḍin refers to a *kalā-pariccheda*, which Peterson takes to be a clear reference to another work of Daṇḍin's; but it is more likely that this was an additional or supplementary chapter to his *Kāvyādarśa*, as Taruṇavācaspati suggests (p. 282). It is noteworthy that the *Kāmadhenu* commentary on Vāmana similarly quotes from a lost work or chapter of Bhāmaha's on the *kalās*[5].

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON DAṆḌIN

The commentaries on Daṇḍin, as the following Bibliography will show, are numerous. Most of

1 Pref. to *Sṛṅg. til.* p. 14 f. 2 On Daṇḍin i 12.
3 Introd to *Daśakumāra* p. ix-x 4 *Ind. Stud.* xvii p. 44.
5 See above p. 57 footnote.

these are comparatively modern, excepting perhaps that of Taruṇavācaspati as well as the anonymous commentary called *Hṛdayaṅgama*, both printed in the Madras edition. With this exception, they are hardly useful for a historical or critical study of Daṇḍin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. (1) Bibl. Ind. 1863, by Premacandra Tarkavāgîśa, reprinted by Bhavadeva Caṭṭopādyāya, Calcutta 1881 (2) by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara 1882 etc (3) edited and translated by Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1890 (4) with two comms. (one of Taruṇavācaspati and the other entitled Hṛdayaṅgama) by Raṅgâcārya, Madras 1910 (5) by S.K. Belvalkar and Raṅgācārya B. Raddi with Sansk. comm. and English notes in B.S.S. (in course of publication : pt. i (1919) and pt. ii first half (1920), already published). Our references are to the Madras edition unless otherwise indicated : this edition divides the work into four chapters instead of three.

MSS. Aufrecht i 102b, 779a, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b ; *SCC* vii 20, 22, 33.; *KBod* 485, 486 ; *Madras Cat.* 12830-33.

Commentaries. (1) by Taruṇavācaspati, *Madras Cat.* 12834 (printed in Madras ed). It appears to be an old comm. It does not refer, as other comms. mostly written in comparatively recent times do, to very late authors. But as it cites (on i 40) Bhoja ii 28, as well *Daśarūpaka* i 8 (in comm. on i 31), it cannot be placed very early. This commentary (on i 30) also refers to a poet Hastimall who may be the Jaina poet Hastimallasena whose dramas and poems are mentioned in Oppert.

(2) *Hṛdayaṅgama* by an anonymous author. *Madras Cat.* 12833 (printed in the same).

(3) °*Mārjanā* by Harinātha, son of Viśvadhara. *ABod* 206b ; Peterson vi p. 30 (extract). Hārinātha also wrote a comm. on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k*°. He must be later than Keśava Miśra whose work on Alaṃkāra he cites.

(4) °*Muktâvalī* by Narasiṃha-sūri, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-śarman. Mitra 2394 (Aufrecht i 102b).

(5) °*Candrikā* by Triśaraṇataṭabhīma. Mentioned in Hall's *Index* p. 63.

(6) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Viśvanātha. Oppert 4112 (Aufrecht i 103a).

(7) °*Vivṛti* or *Kāvya-tattva-viveka-kaumudī* by Kṛṣṇakiṃkara Tarkavāgîśa Bhaṭṭâcārya of Gopālapura in Bengal. *IOC* 1497.

(8) Comm. by Vādijaṅghāla (or °ghaṅghāla). Stein pp. 61, xxviii, extract no 1179). The *Report of Peripatetic Party of Madras MSS Lib. 1917-19* mentions a recent acquisition of this comm. for the Library.

(9) Comm. by Bhāgīratha. Aufrect i 102b.

(10) Comm. by Vijayānanda. Aufrecht i 102b.

(11) °*Vaimalya-vidhāyinī* by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha. Aufrecht ii 20a. This is perhaps the same Mallinātha as is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alaṃkaus*°, p. 69 as a commentator on *Kāvyâdarśa* ; and he should be distinguised from the better known Kolācala Mallinātha.

(12) Comm. (incomplete) by Tribhuvancandra, otherwise called Vādisiṃha, a Jaina. *HPS* iii, no. 57.

(13) anonymous comms. in Mitra 297, Oppert 7903 ; *SCC* vii 21. A comm by Dharmavācaspati

in Oppert 2581 is probably a mistake for Taruṇavācaspati. Regnaud (*Rhétorique*, p. 367 fn) also mentions a commentary by Vācaspati and refers to Taylor ii 501: which probably refers also to this commentary.

V UDBHATA

(1)

Udbhaṭa, who wrote a commentary on Bhāmaha as well as utilised the latter's work in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, certainly lived before the final exposition of the *dhvani*-theory by Ānandavardhana[1] who, in the middle of the 9th century, actually cites Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa twice at pp. 96, 108. Udbhaṭa's name indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. Kalhaṇa (iv 495) mentions a certain Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa who was a *sabhāpati* of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (about 779-813 A.D.); and Bühler,[2] to whom we owe the discovery of Udbhaṭa's work in Kashmir, identifies him with the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha*. Accepting this identification, we should, however, place the most flourishing period of Udbhaṭa's activity, as Jacobi points out, in the first part of Jayāpīḍa's rather long reign; because this sovereign in the latter part of his career appears to have alienated the Brahmans by his oppression of the people. Udbhaṭa, therefore, should be assigned to the end of the 8th century, and he may have lived into the beginning of the 9th.

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1 Cf the opinions of Pratīhārendurāja (p. 79, l.18f), Ruyyaka and Jayaratha (p. 3) and Jagannātha (pp. 414-5).

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 65.

Besides a lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, Pratīhārendu tells us (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa wrote a poem, called *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, from which are taken most of the illustrations in the text.

(2)

MUKULA AND PRATĪHĀRENDURĀJA.

Pratīhārendurāja Udbhaṭa's commetator, was, as he himself tells us, a native of Koṅkana and a pupil of Mukula. Mukula is known to us as the author of *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*, a work on the grammatico-rhetorical question of *abhidhā*. From the last verse of this work we learn that the author's father was Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived, according to Kalhaṇa v 66, in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)[1], and was therefore a contemporary of Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana. Accepting Kalhaṇa's statement, Mukula should be placed roughly towards the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil, Pratīhārendurāja, therefore, belongs approximately to the first half of the 10th century.[2] In his commentary on Udbhaṭa, called °*Laghuvṛtti*, Pratīhārendu quotes from Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, the *Dhvanyāloka* and Rudraṭa, actually naming the first three, and appears to be fairly familiar with the *dhvani*-theory, as explained by Ānandavardhana, to which, however, he does not subscribe.

1 Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 66, 78.

2 Cf Pischel, Pref. to *Śṛṅg.til.* p. 12.

Peterson appears to suggest[1] the identification of Pratīhārendurāja with Bhaṭṭendurāja, whom Abhinavagupta refers to as *asmad-upādhyāya* in his *Locana* (pp. 25, 43, 116, 207, 213) as well as in his commentary on Bharata, where this teacher is quoted sometimes simply as *upādhyāya*. At the commencement and close of his *Locana*[2], Abhinavagupta indicates his immense indebtedness to this teacher, and in one place (p. 160), we find in his praise the somewhat grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin*; which together with the fact that Abhinava also indicates that he learnt *kāvya* from Bhaṭṭendurāja will go to support the conjecture that this preceptor was apparently well-versed in both the theory and practice of poetry. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there are several reasons which might induce one to distinguish the two Indurājas. From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*[3], we learn that Bhaṭṭendu was the son of Śrībhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana-gotra; but of Pratīhārendu's genealogy or personal history we know nothing, except that he was a Kauṅkaṇa and a pupil of Mukula[4]. Bhaṭṭendu appears chiefly

1 Introd. to *Subhāṣ°*, p. 11; but *contra* in Aufrecht i 59a.

2 ed. Kāvyamālā p. 1; and ch. iv (p. 42) in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1923.

3 Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 80 and cxlvii-viii.

4 It is curious that Abhinava, who takes care to refer to most of his teachers and "teacher of teachers" (*parama-guru*), should have omitted a reference to Mukula, whose work, if he was a *parama-guru*, should have been important

as a poet, who wrote, as Abhinava's quotations show, in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and whose verses apparently supplied a ready source of apt poetic illustrations to his pupil's works, probably inspired by himself. If some of his opinions on *rasa* and allied topics are quoted by Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata, they bear no kinship to Pratīhārendu's views, as expressed in the latter's commentary on Udbhaṭa. Although the prefixes Bhaṭṭa and Prathīhāra, being mere honorific titles, need not make any serious difference, Abhinava's citation of his teacher always as Bhaṭṭendurāja (and never as Pratīhārendurāja) is somewhat remarkable; and in view of the fact that these two Indurājas were probably contemporaries, might this not indicate that Abhinava meant to imply a difference? The two writers are never confused even in later anthologies, for the poet is always designated as Indurāja or Bhaṭṭendurāja. The conjecture, therefore, is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under this designation in Kṣemendra's two works[1] as well as in the poetical anthologies[2] of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva and

to him, inasmuch as it is deals with the quasi rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense.

1 *Aucit. vic.* under *śl.* 20, 31; *Suvṛtta-til°* under *śl.* 2, 24, 29, 30.

2 The verse *parârthe vaḥ pīḍām*, ascribed to Indurāja in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (1052) is quoted anonymously twice by Ānandavardhana (pp. 53, 218). a fact which, however, is not decisive; because Abhinava's commentary is

Jalhaṇa. The commentator Pratīhārendurāja, on the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged in his views to the older system of Udbhaṭa, and did not, like Abhinava, believe in the newly established doctrine of *dhvani*, with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory of Ānandavardhana, Pratīhārendu states in one place (p. 79) that what is known as *dhvani* and taken to be "the soul" of Poesy by some thinkers is included implicitly by his author Udbhaṭa, in the treatment of some of the poetic figures under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered. The standpoints of Pratīhārendurāja and Abhinava are so divergent that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two; for the former was in no way an adherent of the *dhvani*-theory, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

BIBILOGRAHPY

Udbhaṭa

Editions. (1) Text ed. by Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 829-53; (2) Text with Pratīhārendurāja's comm. by M. R. Telang, N. S. P. 1915 (this edition is useful for its comm., but some verses occurring

silent as to the authorship of this verse, which occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhāṣ*° 947. The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* attributes it to Vākpati, while Hemacandra (Comm. p. 257) and Jayaratha (p. 108) cite it anonymously.

in the comm. are given mistakenly as *kārikā*-verses) (3) by Banahatti, announced in B. S. S. Our references are to Telang's edition. unless otherwise indicated.

MSS. Aufrecht i 66b.

Mukula

Edition. By M. R. Telang N. S. P. 1916.

MSS. Aufrecht i 24b, ii 5a ; *WBod* 1164.

Pratīhārendurāja

Edition. With the text of Udbhaṭa in N. S. P. 1915.

MSS. Aufrecht i 59a.

VI VAMANA

(1)

The upper limit to Vāmana's date is given by his own quotation (IV.3.6 *vṛtti*) from the *Uttara-rāma-carita* (i 38) of Bhavabhūti, who is known to have flourished under the patronage of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, in the first quarter of the 8th century[1]. The lower limit is given by Rājaśekhara's quotation (p. 14) from Vāmana I.2.1-3, and his reference to the Vāmanīyas, which indicates that by the end of the 9th century Vāmana had a respectable number of followers going by his name. We learn also from Abhinavagupta (*Locana*, p. 37) that Vāmana was probably known, in the middle of the 9th century, to Ānandavardhana who, however, never directly cites Vāmana but seems to refer, in a manner not to be mistaken, to the latter's *rīti*-theory in his *vṛtti* on iii 52. Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, Vāmana probably lived before the *dhvani*-theory, under Ānandavardhana, came into prominence; and Pratīhārendurāja, who professes a great reverence for Vāmana's views, expressly states (p. 81), while discussing *alaṃkāra-dhvani*, that in such cases Vāmana

1 *Rāja-taraṅg*° iv 144. Bhandarkar, pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* pp. xiiif; S. P. Pandit in pref. to *Gauḍavaho* p. lxviif; *WZKM* ii 332f. Vāmana also quotes Subandhu and Bāṇa (ed. Cappeller pp. 38, 68).

has employed the term *vakrōkti* (IV.3.8)[1]. We will not be wrong, therefore, if we fix the lower limit of Vāmana's date at the middle of the 9th century[2].

These considerations make it probable that Vāmana lived between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th century, and justify Bühler's identification, in deference to Kalhaṇa iv 497 and "the tradition of Kāśmīrian Pandits", of our Vāmana with the Vāmana, who was a minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). This conclusion makes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana contemporaries and rivals; and the way in which Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha refer to the two rival schools of Vāmanīyas and Audbhaṭas lends colour to such a supposition.

The *vṛtti* on the *sūtras*, called *kavi-priyā*, is composed, as its *maṅgala-śloka* indicates, by Vāmana himself (cf IV. 3. 33).

(2)

It has already been noted that Vāmana, in many

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1 Even supposing with Jacobi that Vāmana was contemporaneous with the anonymous Dhvanikāra, he cannot yet be shown to have been influenced in any way by the opinions of that school. The remarks of Ruyyaka (p. 7) and Jayaratha apparently support the trend of Pratīhārendurāja's opinion, and Jayaratha expressly says, with reference to these old writers, that they were unaware of the views of the Dhvanikāra (*dhvanikāra-matam ebhir na dṛṣṭam*, p. 3), Dhvanikāra being, in Jayaratha's opinion, the same as Ānandavardhana himself.

2 Cappeller's thesis propounded (in *Vāmana's Stilregeln* pp. iiif; also pref. to his ed. pp. viif) that Vāmana should be

respects, attempts to improve upon the system of Daṇḍin. Vāmana does not claim entire originality with regard to the illustrations he cites, and many of them may be traced to well-known sources. The *rīti*-theory itself, which Vāmana for the first time clearly aud systematically enunciates, is probably older that Bhāmaha, who alludes to the classification of the *gauḍī* and *vaidarbhī*; and Vāmana himself cites from unknown expositors of the past, e.g. in his *vṛtti* on I. 2. 11, 12-13, 3. 15, 29, 32; II. 1. 18, 2. 19; III. 1. 2, 9, 25, 2. 15; IV. 1. 7 etc., with *atra ślokaḥ* or *tathā cāhuḥ*. While Daṇḍin supplies an important link between these unknown authors and Vāmana, we find the theory in its completely self-conscious form in the latter. But it appears to have languished after Ānandavardhana came into the field, in spite of the fact that Vāmana's influence apparently created a school known in later times as the Vāmanīya. To this school probably belonged Maṅgala, who must have been a comparatively early writer, being cited by Rājaśekhara (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20). Maṅgala, we are told by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 195), agrees with Bharata in his definition of *ojas*, and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the *gauḍī rīti*, inasmuch as it is common to all the *rītis*. This is all we hear about this writer, but all these indicate that in his opinions he leaned

placed later than 1000 A.D. is disproved entirely by the quotations given above. Cf Pischel *op. cit.* pp. 23f. The mention of Kavirāja need not, as Pischel shows, of itself place Vāmana as late as 1000 A.D.

towards the system of Vāmana. A poet Maṅgala is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*.

(3)

THE COMMENTATORS ON VĀMANA

The existing commentaries on Vāmana are mostly late, and are therefore hardly acceptable to a historical and critical student. The *Kāmadhenu* by a South Indian prince, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, is a lucid exposition of the text, and its popularity is indicated by its frequent publication in India.

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Editions. (1) by Cappeller, Jena 1875 (2) Kāvyamālā 15, 1880 (3) by Boroowah, Calcutta 1883 (4) Grathapradarśinī, 1895 (5-6) with Kāmadhenu comm. Ben. S. S., 1908, and Śrīvāṇī-vilāsa Series 5, Śrīraṅgam 1909. Eng. Transl. by Gaṅgānātha Jhā, Allahabad (no date), published originally in the *Indian Thought* vol iii-iv. Our references are to the Benares edition, unless otherwise indicated.

MSS. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a, ii 20b; iii 22b; *HPS* ii 28 (Kāvipriyā entered here is apparently the vṛtti so named); *SCC* vii 24; *KBod* 487; *Madras Cat.* 12837-12845.

Commentaries. (1) *Kāmadhenu* by Gopendra (or Govinda) Tripurahara (Tippa) Bhūpāla, apparently a South Indian prince. He cites, among numerous other authors, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (the commentator on Mam-

maṭa ?), Ghaṇṭāpatha (apparently of Mallinātha) and Dharmadāsa Sūri's *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana*. He is thus later than the 14th century. He cites a work called *Kavi-gajāṅkuśa*. Ed. with the text in Grantha-pradarśinī 1895; in the Ben. S. S. and in the Śrīvāṇī-vilāsa Press. Our references are by pages to the Benares Ed. MSS: Aufrecht i 103a, ii 22b; *Madras Cat.* 12842-45.

(2) *Sāhitya-sarvasva* by Maheśvara (*IOC* 566, *ABod* 207b). See under Śrīvatsalāñchana (under Commentators on Mammata below).

VII RUDRATA AND RUDRABHATTA

(1)

The lower limit of Rudraṭa's date is furnished by the citation of Rudraṭa and the reference to his *kāku-vakrôkti* figure (ii 16) by Rājaśekhara (p. 31) at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century. This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Vallabhadeva who, as we shall presently see, flourished in the first half of the 10th century, mentions twice in his commentary on Māgha (on iv 21 and vi 28) that he also composed a commentary on Rudraṭa's treatise on Alaṃkāra, where he had discussed in detail the points in question; while in the same commentary Hultzsch notes numerous references, mostly anonymous, to Rudraṭa (ii 44,88; viii 26,37; ix 6; x 33; xii 55; xiii 40)[1]. Again, Pratīhārendurāja, about the same time, quotes anonymously (pp 42, 49) Rudraṭa's *kārikā*-verses vii 35 and xii 4, as well as cites (p. 43) the illustrative stanza in Rudraṭa vii 36[2]. This sets aside altogether the conjectural date, viz. the second half of the 11th century, assigned by Bühler[3], as well as his revised

1 See Hultzsch's pref. to his edition of *Meghadūta* with Vallabha's comm., London 1911, p. x-xi. This Vallabhadeva must be distinguished from the compiler of the *Subhāṣ*° who bears the same name.

2 Cf Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 764.

3 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

date[1], viz, the middle of the 10th century, which Peterson[2] first put forward.

The upper limit cannot be so definitely settled; but it seems probable that Rudraṭa was younger than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, with regard to whose date his own time to be settled. We need not go so far as to hold with Jacobi[3] that Rudraṭa derived his idea of *vakrôkti* from Ratnākara's well-known poem *Vakrôkti-pañcāśikā*, and therefore was later than Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, who lived under Bṛhaspati and Avantivarman; but it is clear that if this new idea of *vakrôkti* did not originate in Ratnākara or even in Rudraṭa, it was defined for the first time by the latter and illustrated by the former as a particular poetic figure. This verbal figure is described as resting on *śleṣa* (paronomasia) and *kāku* (intonation) and is based on a deliberate misunderstanding of one's words for the purpose of making a clever retort (Rudraṭa ii 14-17). Bhāmaha (ii 85), on the other hand, had taken *vakrôkti*, not as a particular poetic figure, but as a certain strikingness of expression which characterises all poetic figures; while Daṇḍin had limited the range of *vakrôkti* and made it a collective name for all poetic figures with the exception of *svabhāvôkti* (ii 362 and comm. thereon). Vāmana

1 *IA* xii 30.

2 Peterson, i p. 14; also introd. to *Subhāṣ*o p. 105. Their arguments are based on the date of Nami-sādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa, which is now known to be dated in 1069 A.D. See below on Nami-sādhu.

3 *WZKM* ii 151 f.

was the first to regard *vakrôkti* as a special poetic figure (*arthâlaṃkāra*), but he too used the expression in a more or less general sense to denote a particular mode of metaphorical expression based on *lakṣaṇā* or transferred sense (IV. 3. 8)[1]. From this it appears that (1) the term *vakrôkti* travelled through all these writings from a very broad sense as the distinguishing characteristic of all poetic figures to the precise and narrow signification of a specific verbal poetic figure in Rudraṭa's definition; a definition which, however, unquestionably established itself in all later writers (except in Kuntala who developed his idea directly from Bhāmaha); (2) the order of development points apparently to the conclusion that Rudraṭa was probably later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana; for in his time the broader and older connotation of *vakrôkti* was out of date, and it came to be looked upon as a defined species of *śabdâlaṃkāra*; and (3) its illustration by Ratnākara indicates its existence, independently of Rudraṭa, in the 9th century A.D. These indications make it probable, apart from a detailed examination of Rudraṭa's other theories in relation to those of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, that the substance of Rudraṭa's teaching was probably later than that of these older writers. If this conclusion is accepted, then Rudraṭa should be placed after Vāmana, who is the latest member of this group; and this gives us the upper limit to his date.

It seems probable, therefore, that Rudraṭa should be placed between the first quarter of the 9th century

1 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv.

and its end; and it will not be wrong if we accept the most plausible date assigned to him by Pischel[1], viz., the middle of the 9th century[2]. This date makes him a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, who never cites or refers to Rudraṭa, as he does to other well-known predecessors, and by whom this peculiar *ālaṃkārika* connotation of *vakrôkti*, if known, was not apparently recognised.

(2)

What is said here about Rudraṭa does not apply to Rudra or Rudrabhaṭṭa, although Pischel[3], Weber[4], Aufrecht[5] and Bühler[6] take the two authors to be identical. This identity is declared doubtful by Peterson[7] and is not admitted by Durgāprasāda[8] and

1 Pref. to *Śṛṅg.til.* pp. 12, 26.

2 The suggestion of Jacobi that Rudraṭa, whose name implies that he was a Kashmirian, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir, successor of Avantivarman, does not make any essential difference to our conclusion, although it is not certain that the example of *vakrôkti*, given by Rudraṭa in ii 15 was at all prompted by Ratnākara, whose work contains similar railleries between Śiva and Gaurī.

3 Pref. to *Śṛṅg. til.*; *ZDMG* xlii, pp. 296-304, 435.

4 *Ind. Stud.* xvi.

5 *ZDMG* xxvii pp. 80-1, xxxvi p. 376; *Cat. Bod.* 209b; *Cat. Cat.* pp. 528b, 530a.

6 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

7 *Rep.* i p. 14; pref. to *Subhāṣ*° pp. 104-5; but *contra* in ii 19 footnote.

8 Footnote to the ed. of *Śṛṅg.til.* p. 1.

12

Trivedī[1]. Finally, Jacobi has set at rest this controversy by showing elaborately, from an examination of their respective texts, that these two writers were in all probability different persons[2].

From v 15 of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, as interpreted by Nami-sādhu, it appears that Rudraṭa, also called Śatānanda, was the son of Bhaṭṭa Vāmukha and a follower of the Sāma-veda. Rudrabhaṭṭa's genealogy or personal history is unknown. But much has been made of the apparent similarity of the two names. The last verse of the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, however, expressly gives the name of its author as Rudra, with which description most of the MSS agree[3]; while both Nami-sādhu and Vallabha call the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* by the name of Rudraṭa. They belong, again, apprently to two different religious persuasions, Rudra being a worshipper of Śiva, and Rudraṭa omitting a reference to this

1 Notes to his ed. of *Ekāvalī* p. 3.

2 *WZKM* ii pp. 151-56; *ZDMG* xlii pp. 425f.

3 With the curious exception of a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā character (Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* no. 264) where the name in given as Rudraṭa. This unique testimony raises a legitimate suspicion, but it can be explained as a piece of not unnatural confusion made by a Kashmirian scribe, to whom the more famous name of Rudraṭa must have been more familiar. The same remark applies to the South Indian MS in *Madras Cat.* 12955, in which, however, thes last verse gives the name as Rudra. This evidence, however, of the colophons of MSS is not decisive; and it is well known the that even later anthologies and writers of note make a similar confusion between the two authors.

deity and mentioning instead Bhavānī and Murāri (besides the usual Gaṇeśa).

Taking the works themselves, Rudraṭa's text covers a much larger ground than Rudra's, and presents a distinctly different outlook. Rudraṭa puts a greater emphasis on the *kāvyālaṃkāras* or poetic figures, which supply, as Nami-sādhu points out, the name of the work itself, and which absorb its eleven chapters, leaving only four concluding chapters for a brief supplementary treatment of *rasa*, the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā* and the general problems of poetry. The key-stone of Rudra's system, on the other hand, is the idea of *rasa*, having special reference to *śṛṅgāra*, with just a summary description of the other *rasas*; and the chief value of his work consists in his minute poetical treatment of the theme of *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*. It will appear, therefore, that while Rudraṭa's scope and method are more ambitiously theoretical and comprehensive, Rudrabhaṭṭa merely singles out a part of the whole subject, and not troubling himself about definitions and rules (which appear almost word for word as in Rudraṭa) gives us, in his apt and finely composed illustrative verses, a practical poetical manual on the subject of love and other sentiments. Jacobi, therefore, rightly remarks that "Rudraṭa appears as an original teacher of poetics, while Rudra, at his best an original poet, follows, as an expounder of his *śāstra*, the common herd."

With regard to the common topics, there is, however, a general agreement, even to minute details, which has misled some scholars to attribute the two

works to the same author. But beneath this general agreement, the two works reveal many points of difference which affect some of the f ndamental conceptions of their respective authors. Taking, for instance, their treatment of *rasa*, we find that while Rudra (i 9) follows the general tradition, prevailing from Udbhaṭa's time, of mentioning nine *rasas*, Rudraṭa adds one more, viz. *preyas* (xii 3), treating them in an order somewhat different from that followed by Rudra. Rudra enumerates and discusses at some length the *bhāvas* (i 10-16), which are summarily referred to by Rudraṭa in one verse only (xii 4). A similar difference will be noted in the treatment of *vṛttis*, of which Rudra (i 12) mentions, after Bharata (xx 24f), the usual four (viz. *kaiśikī*, *ārabhaṭī*, *sāttvatī* and *bhāratī*), originally taken as styles of dramatic composition but borrowed here apparently with a similar purpose from dramaturgy to poetry (cf Bharata *loc. cit.* 21). Rudraṭa, on the other hand, speaks (ii 19f), after Udbhaṭa,[1] of five *vṛttis* (viz. *madhurā*, *prauḍhā*, *paruṣā*, *lalitā* and *bhadrā*), which have nothing to do with the above four, but being comprised under alliteration (*anuprāsa*) refer primarily to suitable sound-adjustment by special arrangement of letters. With regard to the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, similar material discrepancies can be detected. While Rudra describes at some length the eight conventional *avasthās*

1 Udbhaṭa mentions only three *vṛttis* in connexion with *anuprāsa*, viz. *paruṣā*, *upanāgarikā* and *grāmyā* (i 4-7).

(conditions or situations) of the *nāyikā* (i 131-32), Rudraṭa really mentions four (viz., *abhisārikā, khaṇḍitā, svádhīna-patikā* and *proṣita-patikā,* xii 41f), although to make up for this unwonted divergence there is in some MSS a long passage (between xii 40 and 41), describing the usual eight conditions but irreconcilable to its context, and rightly stigmatised by its editor as interpolated. The third class of heroine, again, viz., the courteszan (*veśyā*). appears to be favoured by Rudra (i 120-30), while Rudraṭa dismisses her in two verses only (xii 39-40) with an apparent note of condemnation. The tenfold state of a lover, beginning with desire and ending in death, is mentioned in passing by Rudraṭa (xiv 4-5), but Rudra defines and illustrates each of these states in detail (ii 6-30). While the trespasses in love, according to Rudra (ii 53), depend on time (*kāla*), place (*deśa*) and circumstances (*prasaṅga* Rudraṭa thinks (xiv 18) that a fourth condition, viz., the person concerned (*pātra*) should be added.

All these indications make it highly probable that Rudraṭa and Rudra were two different persons; but if this is so, how are we to explain the fact that most of the verses in the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* are, but for their difference in metre (*anuṣṭup* and *āryā* respectively) identical almost word for word with the corresponding verses in the *Kāvyálaṃkāra*? This point has been emphasised with some plausibility by the advocates of the identity of the two writers. But it should be noticed that this extraordinary verbal coincidence does not extend beyond those verses which give the rules and definitions; for the illustrative stanzas in the *Śṛṅgāra-*

tilaka, composed in a variety of metres, and forming a distinctive feature of this more poetical work, do not occur in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* at all. It is not unusual to find similar treatment and terminology in technical treatises, abounding in standardised and conventional rules and definitions; but this is not enough to explain this extraordinary plagiarism, tempered, it is true, by the presence of highly poetical and presumably original[1] stanzas composed to illustrate these dry rules and definitions. Nor is the explanation, which is based on the supposed identity of the two writers, at all free from considerable doubt in view of the discrepancies noted above. The real explanation probably lies in the supposition that Rudra, apparently a later writer and chiefly a poet, and never pretending to be an original teacher of Poetics, found in these ready-made rules of Rudraṭa enough poetic possibilities, as well as an opportunity of displaying his own poetic powers, and proceeded forthwith to furnish the missing poetic illustrations.[2] As

1 Some stpnzas in the *Śṛṅg.til.* are taken from earlier works like the *Amaru-śataka*.

2 These chapters in Rudraṭa are purely expository, and are not fully illustrated as the preceding chapters are. One may be led to suppose that Rudraṭa himself composed the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* to supply this deficiency, but this hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the divergence of views on the points noted above, which apparently indicates that the task of supplementing could not have been undertaken by himself but by some other author, who held some views different from his own. It cannot be argued that chapters xii-xvi in question, which contain this deficiency, is a later addition by some other hand, on ground that the closing

he did not apparently aspire to write an original thesis on the topics concerned, he did not trouble to alter the wording of the fixed canons and made only enough changes to suit the metre. While Rudraṭa is concerned directly with rules and prescriptions, Rudra is more practical in his object and treatment, and intends his treatise on love apparently to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science, furnishing it, as he does, with and elaborate analysis of the various moods and sentiments, which belong to the province of Erotics as well Poetics[1].

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verse of ch. xi reads like the end of the work itself; for a similar remark applies to the closing verses of chapters iii, iv and v.

1 The quotations from these two writers in later literature are unfortunately mostly anonymous, and do not materially help us in this question. Among the very few cases where the author's name is cited along with his verses, Mammaṭa, himself a Kashmirian, correctly refers (*ad* ix 8a) the verse *sphuṭam arthâlaṃkāram* to Rudraṭa (iv 32). Samudrabandha (p. 6) and Hemacandra (p. 286 Comm.) refers rightly to Rudraṭa vii 38-40 and vii 27 respectively. Ruyyka, which discussing Rudraṭa's views, does not refer to his treatment of the *rasas* at all. On the other hand, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (p. 35) cites *vāmatā durlabhatvam* from *Śṛṅgrā-til.* (ii 41), and correctly refers to the author as Rudra. Vallabhadeva in his anthology cites a number of verses from the *Kāvyâlaṃkāra* (421 = ii 17; 730 = iii 57; 1387 = vi 10; 1667 = ii 30; 2047 = vii 71; 2061 = vii 33; 2234 = vii 41; 2409 = vii 32), and with two exceptions, gives the name of the author correctly as Rudraṭa. Similarly Śārṅgadhara quotes eight verse from the *Śṛṅgāra-til.* (3409 = i 95; 3567 = i 35; 3568 = i 81; 3670 = ii 107; 3578 = ii 12; 3579 = ii 50; 3675 = i 51; 3754 = i 30), and with two exceptions, again,

(3)

Rudrabhaṭṭa's date is uncertain; but as Hemacandra (p. 110) is the oldest writer to quote and criticise his *maṅgala*-verse (i 1), we should place him between Rudraṭa and Hemacandra, i. e. later than the 9th century but earlier, probably not much earlier, than the 12th. One verse, however, of Rudra, which cannot be traced in his *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, is quoted by Dhanika (iv 60, ed. N. S. P. 1917, p. 103); and if this Rudra is the same as our author, he should be placed before the end of the 10th century.[1]

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUDRAṬA

VALLABHADEVA

Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Rudraṭlāṃkāra*,

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refers them correctly to Rudra. The two exceptions of Śārṅgadhara (viz. 3773 and 3788) are wrongly attributed to Rudra; but Vallabhadeva quotes the very same verses (2234 and 1667), and correcting the mistake refers them rightly to Rudraṭa. Vallabhadeva's two exceptions (2247 and 3122) cannot be found in Rudraṭa to whom they are attributed, nor in Rudra. Jalhaṇa attributes 21 verses to Rudra, of which 5 cannot be traced in his work. Of these, *kiṃ gauri mām* occurs in Rudraṭa ii 15; *ambā śete'tra* occurs in *Kavi. vacana-samuc.* 505 = *Subhāṣ°* 2247 (attributed to Rudraṭa) = *Sadukti-karṇā°* ii 73 (attributed to Bhaṭṭa); *ekākinī yad abalā* is attributed wrongly to Rudra (as in the *Paddhati* 3773) but correctly assigned by Vallabhadeva to Rudraṭa.

1 Dhanika also quotes anonymously from Rudraṭa (xii 4) in his comm. on iv 35, ed. N. S. P.

referred to by himself in his commentary on Māgha (on iv 21, vi 28) is the earliest known commentary on Rudraṭa and is still to be recovered. Vallabhadeva, who bore the surname of Paramâratha-cihna and who describes himself as the son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva[1], is a well-known commentator on several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara. He was apparently a Kashmirian and probably belonged to the first half of the 10th century; for his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*[2] in 977-78 A.D., during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A.D.). His preceptor was Prakāśavarṣa who, Hultzsch thinks, is perhaps identical with the poet Prakāśavarṣa, who is quoted by *Subhāṣitâvalī* and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhti* and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi (Aufrecht i 347). Our author must be distinguished from Vallabhadeva, the author of the *Subhāṣitâvalī*, who is assigned by Aufrecht to the 16th century[3]. From Hultzsch's list of Vallabha's quotations in his commentary on Māgha, it is interesting to note that he cites Medhāvirudra, Bhāmaha,

1 In the closing verse of his comm. on *Vakrôkti-pañcaśikā* Ānandadeva seems to have held some high appointment in Kashmir (colophon in Kāvyamālā pt. i, p. 114: Mitra x no. 4064).

2 See footnote to the ed. of *Vakrôkti-pañcāśikā* in Kāvyamālā, pt i, pp. 101-2: and to ed. of the *Devī-śataka* in *ibid*, pt ix, p. 1. Cf Hultzsch's pref. to *Meghadūta* p. ix.

3 Bühler (*Kunst Poesie* p. 71) however thinks that this Vallabhadeva flourished between 1400 and 1450 A.D.

13

Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭi and the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* (apparently the Prakrit poem of Ānandavardhana).

NAMI-SĀDHU

After Vallabhadeva, comes Nami (known as Nami-sādhu or Nami-paṇḍita), who is described as a Śveta-vikṣu, indicating that he was a Jaina belonging to that persuasion. He describes himself as "the bee that sucked honey from the lotus-feet of Śrī-śālibhadra Sūri, the ornament of the *gaccha* of the city of Thārāpadra". We know that Jinabhadra Sūri, who was a pupil of Śālibhadra, wrote in *saṃvat* 1204 = 1148 A.D.[1] Śālibhadra is also referred to as Śrī-śāli-sūri in another work of Nami's called *Saḍāvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, of which the date is given in the work itself as *saṃvat* 1122 = 1066 A.D.[2] In one of the concluding verses of his commentary on Rudraṭa, Nami states that this commentary was composed in *saṃvat* 1125 = 1069 A.D.[3] Among the writers on Poetics cited by Nami on Rudraṭa, we find the names of Bharata (p. 150, 156, 164), Medhāvirudra (pp. 2, 9, 145), Bhāmaha (p. 2, 116), Daṇḍin (pp. 2, 5, 169), Vāmana (pp. 11, 100, 116), Udbhaṭa (pp. 69, 82, 150) and the *Arjuna-carita* by Ānandavardhana. He also

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1 Peterson i p. 68.

2 Peterson iii p. 13.

3 *pañca-viṃśati saṃyuktair ekādaśa samāśataiḥ* / *vikramāt samatikrāntaiḥ prāvṛṣīdaṃ samarthitam.* The reading *pañca-viṃśati*° in this verse is doubted on the authority of Kielhorn's palm-leaf MS (*Report*, 1880-81, p. 63) which reads instead *ṣaṭ-saptati*°. This new reading will place Nami much

cites *Tilaka-mañjarī* (on xvi 3) apparently of Dhanapāla, and one Jayadeva on prosody (on i 18, 20)[1].

ĀŚĀDHARA

Peterson (ii. p. 85) brought to our notice another Jaina commentator on Rudraṭa, called Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and Ratni. He was a Jaina teacher who lived till *saṃvat* 1296 = 1240 A.D. He should be distinguished from Āśādhara, son of Rāmaji Bhaṭṭa, a very late writer who composed a commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*[2]. At the end of his *Dharmāmṛta*, our Āśādhara gives his own history. He belonged to the family of Vyāghreravāla and was the son of Sallakṣaṇa (or Lakṣaṇa) and Ratni. He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country round the Śākambharī (Sambhar) Lake. He had by his wife Sarasvatī a son named Chāhaḍa, who was a favourite of Arjunavarman of Mālava (first quarter of the 13th century). After the invasion of Sāhibadina, king of the Turuṣkas (apparently *Sh*āhābu-d-din *Gh*ūr, Sultān of Delhī, who vanquished Pṛthurāja in 1193 A.D.), Āśādhara emigrated to

later; but it is not supported by other MSS (e.g. Mitra 3102; Stein 61; Peterson i p. 16), as well as by the evidences adduced above from other sources. Kielhorn's reading is obviously incorrect in itself, because it makes the verse deficient in metre.

1 Also quoted by Janārdana, *ABod* 198a. Wrote a *Chandaḥ-śāstra,* Kielhorn *Report* 1890-81 p. 87.

2 The two are confused by Aufrecht i 54b and, following him, by Haricānd Śāstrī p. 18.

Mālava and lived in Dhārā, where he learned the doctrines of Jaina faith and Jinendra-vyākaraṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, pupil of Dharasena. Āśādhara was reputed for his learning, being praised by the sage Udayasena, the poet Vilhaṇa (*sic*) and the great *yati*, Madanakīrti. He wrote more than 15 works, of which he gives a list, referring also to his commentary on Rudraṭa[1]. His *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti-śāstra* was composed in 1236 A.D.[2]

1 Peterson ii p. 85 and fn: Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 103-4.

2 Aufrecht i 54b.

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Rudraṭa

Edition. Kāvyamālā 2, 1886, with Nami's comm. Our references are to the second edition of this, 1909.

MSS. Aufrecht i 103a, ii 20b.

Nami-sādhu

Edition. Kāvyamālā 2, 1886, 1909, with the text (see above).

MSS. Aufrecht *ibid.*

Āśādhara

MSS. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a. No MS of Vallabhadeva's commentary on Rudraṭa is known.

Rudrabhaṭṭa

Editions. (1) by Pischel with an introd. Kiel 1886 (2) Kāvyamālā pt. iii 1887, 1899. Our references are to Pischel's edition.

MSS. Aufrecht i 660, ii 158a, 230b, iii 137a ; *KBod* 491 : *Madras Cat.* 12955.

Commentary. *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. See under Commentators on Mammaṭa and Bhānudatta, below. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā ed. of the text (p. 111). He calls his author Rudra. If the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, cited by Kumārasvāmin, be the same person, then he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. As Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to be a South Indian writer, this conjecture is probable. Oppert's entry of *Vana-taraṅgiṇī* (ii 2711, 1787) on Rudraṭa is apparently a mistake for this work, and the name Rudraṭa is a confusion for Rudra.

VIII THE WRITER ON ALAMKARA IN THE AGNI-PURANA

The writer on Alaṃkāra in the *Agni-purāṇa* (chs. 336-346) attempts to treat the subject in what may be described roughly as an eclectic fashion, but apparently follows at the same time a tradition which is distinct from and probably older than that of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana. The date of this apocryphal work is uncertain: but there is enough evidence to show that the Alaṃkāra-section in it is chiefly a compilation by a writer, who was himself no great theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular system, yet gathering its material from all sources. This is apparent not only from its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and probably other old unknown writers[1]. Bharata is cited by name in *Agni* 339, 6, and a large part of of its treatment of *nāṭya, nṛtya, abhinaya* and

1 Thus the verse *abhidheyena saṃbandhāt* (*Agni* 344, 11-12), which is also cited anonymously by Mammaṭa (*Sabda-vyāpā°* p. 8) and in the *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana IV. 3. 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmitra by Mukula (p. 17). The verse is not traceable in Bhartṛhari.

rasa follows Bharata's exposition, even to the literal borrowing and paraphrase of some of his well-known verses. Thus *Agni* 338, 12 = Bharata vi 36, *Agni* 338, 7-8 = Bharata vi 39. The definition of poetry (*Agni* 336, 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni* 341, 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin i 10 and ii 1 respectively. Cf also *Agni* 336, 13 = Daṇḍin i 29 = Bhāmaha i 27 ; *Agni* 336, 23, 25, 26 = Daṇḍin i 12, 15, 17 = Bhāmaha i 20. This will be enough to indicate not only the general nature of the work, but also the probability that these chapters of the *Purāṇa* were compiled later than Daṇḍin. Thus we get one terminus to its date at the first half of the 8th century. The other terminus is given by the anonymous quotation of *Agni* 338, 10-11 by Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the 9th century[1]. We cannot draw any definite inference from the *Agni-purāṇa's* omission of a direct reference to Vāmana's teachings, although the definition of the term *vakrôkti* bears some resemblance (341, 33) to Rudraṭa's novel characterisation of the same figure (ii 14-16)[2]. On the other hand, this section of the *Agni-purāṇa* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropriations) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha. Whatever may be the date

1 The tradition of opinion embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* is followed and further developed by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-k°* ; and this fact will certainly place the former work at least earlier than the 11th century.

2 This point need not be emphasised: for this idea of *vakròkti* was prevalent, as Ratnākara's poem shows, in the 9th century.

of the *Purāṇa* as a whole, which is a kind of an ambitious cyclopaedia, incorporating sections on various departments of knowledge, we may, from what has been said, be justified in assigning the *alaṃkāra*-section to the beginning of the 9th century. This date is supported also by one of the most striking features of the work, which consists in the omission of all references to the *dhvani*-theory, although the concept of *dhvani* is casually included in the figure *ākṣepa*[1], after the manner of most old authors, who flourished before that theory came into prominence[2].

1 The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse of this section (336, i; cf Bhoja i 1); but apparently it alludes to the grammatical word, which reveals the *sphoṭa* and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadīya*. Bhoja, in following this work, makes the same omission; but he betrays, in many places, a knowledge of the views of Ānandavardhana and his followers.

2 Cf Ruyyaka pp. 3f.

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MSS. See Aufrecht.

IX THE DHVANIKARA AND ANANDAVARDHAṆA

(1)

Ānandavardhana has been assigned by Bühler and Jacobi to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v 34, which makes him one of the ornaments of the court of Avantivarman, 855-84 A.D. We are pretty certain of the time of Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana's commentator; for, as he himself states, his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* was written in 1015 A.D., while his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 991 A.D. From Abhinavagupta's remarks at the end of his °*Locana* commentary on *uddyotas* i and iii of the *Dhvanyāloka*, it appears that the study of this famous work was traditional in his family, and that his own commentary was composed as a rejoinder to another, called the *Candrikā* (p. 60), written by one of his predecessors in the same *gotra*[1]; and four times in his °*Locana* (pp. 123, 174, 185, 215) he discusses or controverts the views of this earlier commentator, who is specifically referred to as the Candrikā-

1 *candrikā-kāras tu paṭhitam...ity-alaṃ pūrva-vaṃśyaiḥ saha vivādena bahunā*, p. 185; *ity-alaṃ nija-pūrvaja-sagotraiḥ sākaṃ vivādena*, p. 123, etc.

kāra at pp. 178 and 185.[1] This should certainly allow some generations to lie between Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, and negative completely Pischel's contention that in three passages Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as one of his teachers. These passages occur at pp. 37, 183, and 214 of the printed text but a perusal of them with reference to their context will show that the honorific word *guru*, if it at all refers to Ānandavardhana, must refer to him, not literally but figuratively, as *paramparā-guru*, whose work was held in esteem in his family[2]; or (which is more likely) the reference is to one or other of Abhinavagupta's teachers, such as Bhaṭṭa Tauta, or Bhaṭṭendurāja, the former of whom is cited as *asmad-upādhyāyāḥ* or *asmad-guravaḥ* very often in Abhinava's commentary on Bharata. Again, Kayyaṭa states that he wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, pt. ix) at about 977 A.D., so that by the end of the tenth century Ānandavardhana was well enough established in fame to have two such learned commentators. Finally, Rājaśekhara, who lived about

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1 This *Candrikā* is also referred to in a punning verse at the beginning of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka* (i 5): *dhvani-vartmany-ati-gahane skhalitaṃ vāṇyāḥ pade pade sulabham / rabhasena yat pravṛttā prakāśakaṃ candrikādy-adṛṣṭaiva*, on which the commentator remarks: *candrikā jyotsnā dhvani-vicāraṇa-grantho'pi* (p. 1).

2 Jacobi, *WZKM* iv, pp. 237-38.

the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, mentions and cites Ānandavardhana by name in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 16), and this should certainly clear up any doubt as to the authenticity of the date assigned by Kalhaṇa and accepted by Bühler and Jacobi.

(2)

The celebrated work on Poetics known as *Dhvanyāloka* (also called *Kāvyāloka*[1] or *Sahṛdayāloka*), of which or a part of which, Ānandavardhana is reputed to be the author, may be distinguished into two parts, viz. (1) the *Kārikā*, consisting of verses and treating of *dhvani*, and (2) the *Vṛtti*, or exposition, generally in prose with illustrative verses, of the above *Kārikā*. Now the question has been raised whether the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* are of the same authorship or should be attributed to different authors.

Abhinavagupta, who is followed in this respect by several later writers on Poetics, carefully distinguishes between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, by directly opposing them, and also by using the term *vṛtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *kārikā*[2]. In three of these passages (pp. 123, 130-1 ; ch.

1 The work is called *Kāvyāloka* by Abhinava.

2 pp. 1, 59, 59-60, 60, 71, 78, 85, 104, 123, 130-1 ; ch iv pp. 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40 in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University. For these passages collected together, see S. K. De in the *Bulletin of the Sch. of Orient. Stud.* i, pt. 4, p. 3, and Haricānd Śāstrī *op. cit.* pp. 86-87.

iv p. 29) Abhinavagupta expressly tries to reconcile the conflicting views expressed by the Kārikākārā and the Vṛttikāra.

Bühler [1] first drew attention to this point: and Jacobi [2], relying on Abhinavagupta's testimony, put forward the suggestion that the Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the *Kārikā*, was a different and older writer who should be distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Vṛtti*. In support of this, it has been pointed out that one does not find complete agreement of opinion between the two parts of the work, although the one is an exposition of the other. On the other hand, it seems that the system as given in its bare outline by the Kārikākāra in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the Vṛttikāra; and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter. In one place, for instance (p. 123), Abhinavagupta clearly points out that the classification of *dhvani* according to *vastu*, *alaṃkāra*, and *rasādi* is not expressly taught in any *kārikā*; while in another place in ch. iv, Abhinavagupta states that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* in poetry is mentioned by the Vṛttikāra but not touched upon by the Kārikākāra. Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical *Vṛtti* attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 65.
2 *ZDMG*, 1902, p. 405f.

and materials supplied by the brief *kārikās* ; and his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the Kārikākāra receded to the background, completely overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder ; and people considered as the Dhvanikāra not the author of the few memorial verses but the commentator Ānandavardhana himself, who for the first time fixed the theory in its present form. The term "Dhvanikāra" itself came gradually to be used in the generic sense of "the creator of the Dhvani School", and therefore indiscriminately applied by later writers to Ānandavardhana, who, though not himself the founder of the system, came to receive that credit for having first victoriously introduced it in the struggle of the schools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the apocryphal verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa, Ānandavardhana is regarded as the founder of the *dhvani*-theory. Similarly, Samudrabandha (p. 4), passing in review the five schools of Poetics before Ruyyaka, mentions Ānandavardhana as the founder of the fifth or last Dhvani School. This would also explain the two groups of apparently puzzling citations from the *Dhvanyāloka* met with in the works of later writers, in which they either confuse or identify Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra. On the one hand, we have several *kārikās* cited under the name of Ānandavardhana, while on the other, several passages which occur in the *Vṛtti* are given under the name

of the Dhvanikāra. This confusion was so complete in later writers that even in the latter part of the eleventh century Mahimabhaṭṭa, who professed to demolish the new theory by his fierce onslaught in the *Vyakti-viveka*, quotes from the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* indiscriminately under the generic appellation of the Dhvanikāra. In the same way Kṣemendra, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and Hemacandra, in the first quarter of the twelfth, make Ānandavardhana responsible for *kārikās* iii 24 and i 4 respectively, while still later writers like Jayaratha, Viśvanātha, Govinda, and Kumārasvāmin regard Ānandavardhana himself as the Dhvanikāra, to whom the *Kārikā*, as well as the *Vṛtti*, is attributed [1]. Mammaṭa, generally a careful writer, distinguishes Ānandavardhana from the writer of the *kārikās*, whom he styles *dhvanikāra* or *dhvanikṛt* (pp. 213 and 214), but in one place (p. 445) he apparently falls into confusion and ascribes to the Dhvanikāra a verse which undoubtedly belongs to the *Vṛtti*.

(3)

If the Dhvanikāra, is thus distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the question naturally arises—

1 Kṣemendra, *Aucitya-vicāra*, p. 134 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii 24; Hemacandra, Comm. p. 26 = Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣ°* 157 = *Dhvanyāloka* i 4; Govinda Thakkura, p. 16 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 221; Viśvanātha, p. 114 = *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 130; Jayaratha, p. 119 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 111; Kumāra-

who was this Dhvanikāra, and what date should be assigned to him? Abhinavagupta does not give us any information on this point. Jacobi, in the learned introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka*, and following him, Haricānd Śāstrī pose the question very ably without, however, furnishing a precise solution. Sovani's hypothesis[1] that the name of the unknown Kārikākāra was Sahṛdaya, is hardly convincing, for his grounds for this identification are that (1) one of the alternative names of the work itself is *Sahṛdayāloka* and that (2) the use of the words *sahṛdaya* and *kavi-sahṛdaya* at the end of chapter iv of the *Dhvanyāloka* and in the beginning of Abhinavagupta's commentary is significantly corroborative. It is well known, however, as Haricānd Śāstrī points out, that the word *sahṛdaya* (lit. a man with a heart) is used in innumerable places in Alaṃkāra literature, as in the verses in question, to designate a man of taste, a judge of literary beauty, a connoisseur of *rasa*. Ānandavardhana himself discusses *sahṛdayatva* at some length in his *Vṛtti* (p. 160), and Abhinavagupta arrives at a concise definition of a *sahṛdaya* thus: (p. 11) *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsa-vaśād viśadībhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayī-bhavana-yogyatā, te hṛdaya-saṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*, a definition which became so much standardized that

svāmin, p. 64 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii 3. All the passages are collected together and arranged in Haricānd Śāstrī pp. 84-86.

1 *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 164-67.

Hemacandra does not scruple to copy it literally (Comm. p. 3)[1].

In the absence of materials it is very difficult to decide the question finally. Jacobi maintains, on the indication of a passage in Abhinava, that this unknown Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha, who is placed by Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (iv 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa, i.e. in the first part of the ninth century (about 780-813 A.D.); but there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way of our arriving at a definite decision on this point. While discussing the various theories which deny the existence of *dhvani*, Ānandavardhana quotes a verse anonymously with the remark, *tathā cānyena kṛta evātra ślokaḥ*, upon which Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks: *tathā cānyena iti. granthakṛt-samāna-kāla-bhāvinā manoratha-nāmnā kavinā.* If we suppose that by *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana, then Manoratha, who is thus made a contemporary of the latter, lives in middle or second part of the ninth century, i.e. somewhat later than the date assigned to him by Kalhaṇa, presuming of course that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that *granthakṛt*

1 Mammaṭa begins his work (p. 10) with a reference to *kavi* and *sahṛdaya*, who are etymologically distinguished by Vidyādhara (p. 21): and both Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha declare that the *sahṛdaya* alone can have a true perception of *rasa* in poetry.

refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra, we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90, etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose either (1) that Kalhaṇa is wrong, as Pischel argues, in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa, (2) that the two Manorathas were not identical persons, or (3) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.

(4)

It seems, on the other hand, that the *kārikās* date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the ninth century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kalhaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta ; for it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Anandavardhana, and therefore quite a different person from the well-known

Manoratha of Kalhaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word *granthakṛt* to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary ; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kalhaṇa's Manoratha, with whom we have nothing to do. If, on the other hand, we place the Dhvanikāra in the time of Kalhaṇa's Manoratha, this would only leave a bare margin of two generations between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, which does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the former, of which undoubted traces are preserved to us inthe few memorial verses—*parikara-ślokas* (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163), *saṃgraha-ślokas* (pp. 87, 223), *saṃkṣepa-ślokas* (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his *Vṛtti,* which itself, therefore, is not likely to be the first of its kind. These *ślokas* are a sort of recapitulation-stanzas which are adduced by the Vṛttikāra from unknown sources, sometimes to explain the meaning of the *kārikās,* but more often to amplify and supplement them. But at the same time we need not suppose a very long intervening period between the original dogmatic formulator of a theory and its first thoughtful expounder : for it is not necessary that a system should always require a long stretch of time in forming itself. The phenomenon is not unusual that if a literary or intellectual movement is already afoot and is, at it were, in a fervescent state, a few generations, or at most a century, are enough to bring it to the inevitable culmination, or at least to some

preliminary completion. If we suppose that a system of *dhvani* had been in existence at a very early period, we should expect to find, as we do find to a certain extent, in the case of the *rasa*-theory, its influence working, at least indirectly, on the earlier writers who preceded Ānandavardhana, although this argument in itself does not carry with it a decisive force. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that the Dhvanikāra apparently shows himself conversant with some theories of *rasa*, *rīti* and *alaṃkāra*. But this neither proves nor disproves his own antiquity or that of his system, for there is no evidence to show that he was aware of the particular views of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, or Vāmana who championed these theories; nor are these writers to be taken, like the Dhvanikāra himself, as the absolute founders of the systems they individually represent. It only goes to establish that the theory, enunciated by the Dhvanikāra, may have existed side by side with these systems, as we find them in the extant works: for it could not have been much later, inasmuch as such a supposition would bring it too near the time of Ānandavardhana himself. If the Dhvanikāra was contemporaneous with Daṇḍin or Vāmana, he may be placed at most a century earlier than his commentator in the first half of the 8th century.

(5)

If Ānandavardhana gave the final authoritative shape to the *dhvani*-theory (only the details of which

were worked out by Abhinavagupta and others), the anonymous Dhvanikāra was not its absolute creator. This is made clear by the first *kārikā*, which tells us that the theory was already taught by earlier thinkers, and that it existed even at the time of the Dhvanikāra himself in various forms, handed down, as Ānandavardhana explains, in unbroken tradition (*paramparayā yaḥ samāmnātaḥ*), although it may not have been explained, as Abhinava adds in his gloss, in particular books (*avicchinnena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam, vināpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanād ityabhiprāyaḥ*, p. 3). This implies without doubt that the school existed from a very early time, but some unknown writer gathered together, summed up, and fixed the theory in a form which obtained considerable literary esteem for his work and the honoured but somewhat vague appellation of the Dhvanikāra for himself. But his name and fame, in course of time, were eclipsed by those of his great Vṛttikāra, who succeeded in establishing the theory for all time and to whom posterity began to ascribe, not altogether undeservedly, all the honours of his predecessor, so that one of the latest writers on Alaṃkāra, Kumārasvāmin (p. 288), glorifies him with the curious but significant epithet—Dhvanyâcārya.

(6)

Very little is known of Ānandavardhana's personal history. The colophon at the end of ch. iii of

his work in the India Office MS calls him *noṇópādhyāyátmaja*, while the colophon to ch. iv gives the form *joṇópādhyāya.* Of these two forms of the name of his father, the former seems to be correct, for referring to Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*, Hemacandra (Comm. p. 225) cites its author as *noṇa-sutaḥ śrīmad-ānandavardhana-nāmā*. Kayyaṭa also, commenting on the last punning verse of the same work, refers to the author as the son of Noṇa, and mentions his two works, the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* and *Arjuna-carita,* supposed to have been punningly alluded to in that verse. Both these works are cited in Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti*, and the former appears to be a Prakrit poem. Ānandavardhana himself refers to another work of his own at p. 233, on which Abhinava adds the gloss: *granthántara iti viniścaya-ṭīkāyāṃ dharmottamāyāṃ* [*dharmottamāyā*?] *yā vivṛtir amunā grantha-kṛtā kṛtā.* Abhinava in ^{0}*Locana* iv (p. 31) refers to another work of Ānandavardhana's, called *Tattváloka*, in which the latter is said to have discussed, among other things, the relation between *kāvya-naya* and *śastra-naya.*

(7)

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Abhinavagupta's fame rests chiefly on his philosophical works on Kashmir Śaivaism, but he appears also to have attained a considerable reputation in the realm of Poetics by his two remarkable commentaries on Bharata and on Ānandavardhana, called respectively *Abhinava-bhāratī* and *Kāvyáloka-locana.* He

also cites in his °*Locana* (p. 178, also p. 29) another commentary (*vivaraṇa*) of his own, now lost, on the *Kāvya-kautuka* (apparently dealing with Alaṃkāra) by one of his teachers (*asmad-upādhyāya*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Nothing is known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also called Bhaṭṭa Tota); but it appears that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was probably inspired by this teacher, who is cited there very frequently, just as his °*Locana* was inspired by his other teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja. The *Kāvya-kautuka* is also referred to in the anonymous commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (p. 13); and Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his text and reproduces (p. 59) in his commentary (appropriating the passage directly from Abhinava on Bharata) an opinion of this teacher in connexion with the theory of *rasa*. Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl.* 35) attributes to Tauta a fragment of a verse which is given in full but anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 3)[1]. Tauta is also cited by Caṇḍīdāsa in his °*Dīpikā* commentary on Mammaṭa.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, together with Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is extravagantly praised in the °*Locana* and whose relation to Abhinava we have already discussed, were probably his preceptors in Kāvya and Alaṃkāra. His references to his instructors in philosophy, like Sidhicela[2], Lakṣmaṇagupta and others, in his philosophical works possess no interest for us; but it may be noted that Abhinava, in his *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī*

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1 This verse is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Māmaha (or Bhāmaha?) in *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana, p. 4, ed. Benares.

2 See Pref. to the ed. of ch iv, cited above.

laghu-vṛtti, refers to Utpala as his *parama-guru*, the teacher of his teacher. This description of Utpala is repeated in his *Locana* (p. 30), where Abhinava discusses the term *pratyabhijñā*, used in the text (i 8), and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala. This Utpala is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism as the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* (on whose *sūtra* and *Vṛtti*, Abhinava wrote a *laghuvṛtti* and a *bṛhatī vṛtti* respectively) and is assigned by Bühler (*op. cit.* p. 79) to the first half of the 10th century. From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works of Kashmir Śaivaism, we may indicate the line of spiritual succession (*guru-paramparā*) thus: Somānanda→Utpala→ Lakṣmaṇa-gupta→Abhinavagupta; Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta who is taken as the earliest founder of the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra.

In the concluding portion of his *Parātriṃśikā-vivaraṇa*, Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account, in which he tells us that he was the son of Kāśmīraka Cukhala[1] and grandson of Varāhagupta, and had a brother named Manorathagupta. As already stated, Abhinava's date is easily gathered from his own dating of some of his works, and may be fixed with certainty at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

1 Bühler's MS has *kāśmīraka viculaka* (*op. cit.* p. clv) as well as °*cukhala* (p. clvii).

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MSS. Aufrecht i 273b, iii 59a.

Abhinavagupta

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā 25, 1890, 1911 with the text (first three *uddyotas* only) (2) Fourth *uddyota* without the text by the present writer in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta Univ. 1923. The full title is *Kāvyâloka-locana.*

MSS. Aufrecht i 273b, ii 59a, iii 59a. Burnell 55a probably contains all the four *uddyotas*; also *Madras Cat.* 12893-94 (the last number containing only the fourth *uddyota*, while the other one all the 4 *uddyotas*). Aufrecht's entry (i 49) of *ānanda-vardhanīya-kāvyâlaṃkāra-kāmadhenu-ṭīkā* involves a twofold error, due perhaps to Oppert's inaccurate entry; for the designation *ānanda-vardhanīya* is incorrect, and by *Kāvyâlaṃkāra-Kāmadhenu-ṭīkā* is probably meant the commentary of that name on Vāmana (see p. 84 above), mixed up through a confusion with Abhinava's °*Locana*.

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-vyākhyā-kaumudī* by Parameśvarâcārya. Oppert 2694.

(2) °*Añjana* (?), anonymous. *Madras Cat.* 12895, extract (only on the first *uddyota*). The author erroneously describes Bhaṭṭendurāja as the *parama-guru* of Abhinava.

The *Candrikā* comm. on Ānandavardhana, referred to by Abhinava and others, is apparently lost.

Abhinava bhāratī on Bharata. The Trivandrum Palace MS contains only ch. 1-6, 9-13 18, 19. The MS in the posses-

sion of Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā of Benares, of which he kindly furnished the present writer with a transcript, contains 1-6, 7 (incomplete), 8-31 ; but there are numerous gaps especially in the last few chapters. It follows in general the Trivandrum MS. A MS has been recently acquired for the Madras Government Oriental MSS Library which is also incomplete. An edition of chaps. vi and vii (on *rasa* ond *bhāva*) is in preparation by the present writer. This voluminous but learned commentary deserves to be published.

No MS has been discovered of Abhinava's *Kāvyakautuka-vivaraṇa*, or of the *Kāvya-kautuka* itself.

For citations of poetical and Alaṃkāra works by Ānanda-vardhana and Abhinavagupta, see preface to the Kāvyamālā ed., and Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 290 and 297. Only omit the name of Dhaṇika given by Jacob as an author quoted by Abhinava.

X RAJASEKHARA

(1)

Rājaśekhara, son of *mahāmantrin* Durduka or Duhika and Śīlāvatī[1] and great-grandson of the poet Akālajalada of the Yāyāvara family, is better known as a poet and dramatist than as a writer on Poetics. In his *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i 12, Rājaśekhara describes himself as the author of six works which must have existed even before this presumably early production of his[2]. It is not known whether his other three well-known dramas belong to this period, but it appears that he probably composed more than six works. Hemacandra (Comm. p. 335) cites a work of Rājaśekhara's, entitled *Hara-vilāsa*, as an example of a poem which bears the name of its author (*svanāmāṅktā*), and quotes two verses from the same (Comm. pp. 334-335); from which Ujjvaladatta also

1 *Bāla-rāmā*° *ad.* i 7, 13; *Bāla-bhā*° *ad.* i 8; *Viddha-śāla*° *ad* i 5. Rājaśekhara calls himself a Kavirāja (*Karpūra-mañj*° i 9; *Viddha-śāla*° i 5), which is, according to *Kāv.mīm.*, the seventh, out the ten stages, of poetic skill, one degree higher than that of a *mahākavi.*

2 In *Karpūra-mañj*° i 9 we are told that Rājaśekhara began his career as a *bāla-kavi*, so called apparently from his two works *Bāla-rāmā*° and *Bāla-bhā*°; while in this Prakrit drama, as well as in *Viddha-śāla*°, he appears to have attained the distinction of a *Kavirāja.*

(ii 28) gives a half-verse. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, again (xvii p. 98), there is a reference to another work of his own, called *Bhuvana-koṣa*, for information on universal geograghy. Ujjvaladatta (ii 76) also quotes a line from Rājaśekhara on the synonyms of Śiva, which, if not occurring in the *Hara-vilāsa*, was probably taken from an unknown lexicon by him.

In the two anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Śārṅgadhara, we get a considerable number of verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara. Of these, about 24 have been identified by Sten Konow in Rājaśekhara's four plays[1], but about 10 have not yet been traced in any of his known works, nor are they to be found in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. These untraced verses, including most of the memorial verses on the poets, probably belong to another and younger Rājaśekhara[2].

There can be hardly any doubt that the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* should be ascribed to the dramatist Rājaśekhara, although it is not mentioned in these enumerations of Rājaśekhara's works[3]. Our author gives his own name at the end of the first chapter as *yayāvarīya* Rājaśekhara, which agrees with the description given in the dramas and which makes

1 ed. *Karpūra-mañj°*, pp. 189-91.

2 This other Rājaśekhara may or may not be the Jaina Rājaśekhara, author of the *Prabandhakoṣa* (1348 A.D.). Rice 282 mentions a work called *Karpūrarasa-mañjarī* by Bālakavi, which apparently refers to Rājaśekhara and his well-known Prakrit drama, and not to any work on Alaṃkāra.

3 Aufrecht notes (*ABod* 135a) that the *Kāv. mīm.* is cited by name by Śaṅkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā*.

the later writers cite our author simply as *yāyāvara*[1]. The opinions of this *yāyāvara* family, to which he belonged and in which were born poets and scholars like Surānanda[2], Akālajalada[3], Tarala[4] and Kavirāja, are cited frequently by him under the general designation *yāyāvarīya*[5], as well as under the individual names of these famous members who are enumerated in the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i 13 and elsewhere. He also quotes with respect the views of his wife Avantisundarī (pp. 20, 46, 57), for whose pleasure, we know, he wrote his *Karpūra-mañjarī* (i 11) and who seems to have been an accomplished authoress. The present work does not also omit a display the author's love

1 *Bāla-bhā°* i 6, 13; *Viddha-śāla°* i 5, and Dhanapāla in *Tilaka-mañj°* ed. Kāvyāmālā 85, 1903, *śl.* 33. Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita on *Viddha-śāla.* i 5 quotes Devala to show that *yāyāvara* means a kind of a householder (*dvividho gṛhasthaḥ, yāyāvaraḥ śālīnaś ca*).

2 an ornament of the country of the Cedis (*cedimaṇḍala-maṇḍana*, Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa). His patron Raṇavigraha is supposed by Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1887-91, p. xix) to have been the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose dates range from 875 to 911 A.D. Quoted also in *Kāv. mīm.* p. 75.

3 Rājaśekhara's grandfather. Cited in *Śr.Paddhati* 777 = *Subhāṣ°* 843 (*dākṣiṇātya*). Famous for his poetical jems, some of which were plagiarised by Kādambarīrāma (Jalhaṇa 23a and b). Called *mahārāṣṭra-cūḍāmaṇi* in *Bāla-rāmā°*; also see *Viddha-śāla°* i 5.

4 Cited by Jalhaṇa. Author of a work, called probably *Suvarṇa-bandha.*

5 pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 42, 43, 46, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 78, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100.

for Prakrit dialects, as well as his knowledge of geography (ch. xvii), of which he gives ample evidence in Act x of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. These and other details, on which we need not dwell any further, show that our Rājaśekhara is no other than the well-known dramatist.

(2)

The published text of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is apparently the first part of a projected extensive volume, of which a general summary or scheme is given in the first chapter and which is also indicated by occasional remarks (like *rītayas tisras tās tu purastāt* p. 10 and *tam aupaniṣadike vakṣyamaḥ* p. 11) relating to topics to be dealt with in other succeeding parts. If the complete work, as projected, consisted of eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, we have now only one volume surviving on the preliminary topic of *kavi-rahasya* alone[1]. Keśava Miśra (pp. 32, 67) quotes three verses from an Alaṃkāra-work by Rājaśekhara, which, if they belong to our author, were apparently taken, as their contents indicate, from some lost chapters on *ubhayālaṃkārika* and *vainodika* respectively.

The popularity of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* with the later writers is indicated by the extensive use made of it by Kṣemendra, Bhoja, Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa. Hemacandra, for instance, has literally copied long passages from chs. viii, ix, xiii-xviii; while Vāgbhaṭa has borrowed the same (as

1 Cf introd. to *Kāv. mīm.* p. xvii-xviii.

well as other) portions either directly from the same source or indirectly through Hemacandra[1].

Rājaśekhara himself is indebted to many old writers and cites directly the opinions of Medhāvi-rudra (p. 12), Udbhaṭa and Audbhaṭas (pp. 22, 44), Vāmana and Vāmanīyas (pp. 14, 20), Rudraṭa (p. 31), Maṅgala (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and Ānanda (p. 16), besides unnamed authors who are cited under the general designation *ācārya*.[2]. We also find the names of Aparājita (who is quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1024, and mentioned as a contemporary poet and author of *Mṛgāṅkalekhā-kathā* in *Karpūra-mañjarī*, *ad* i 8 but given in our text as Āparājiti), Surānanda, one of his ancestors, his wife Avantisundarī, Pālyakīrti (p. 46), Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17) and Vākpatirāja[3] (p. 62), all of whom, as the citations show, seem to have expressed some opinions on the topics under discussion.

(3)

The date of Rājaśekhara has been settled with some exactitude. We learn from his four extant

1 A comparative table is given of these wholesale borrowings at the end of the notes in the Gaekwad ed. of the text.

2 pp. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 30, 35, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 78, 94, 99.

3 This Vākpatirāja (Bapai-rāa) is apparently the author of the *Gauḍavaha* (middle of the 8th century: Kalhaṇa iv 144) and must be distinguished from Muñja-vākpatirāja, the 7th Paramāra king of Mālava, who reigned from 947 to 995 A.D. See below under Dhanañjaya.

plays[1] that he was a teacher (*upādhyāya*) to a king named Mahendrapāla (otherwise known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya), and was also patronised by his son and successor Mahīpāla[2]. We also understand that one of his plays, the *Bāla-bhārata*, was performed at a place called Mahôdaya, for which he shows a partiality also in his *Kavya-mīmāṃsā*. Fleet has shown[3] that this Mahīpāla should be indentified with the Mahīpāla of the Asni inscription, dated 917 A.D., and he agrees with Pischel[4] that Mahôdaya is another name for Kānyakubja or Kanauj[5], with which place this king, as well as Mahendrapāla, is connected in the Siyadoni inscription[6]. It has also been shown by Aufrecht[7] and Pischel[8] that Mahendrapāla, whose date appears to be 903-07 A.D. from Kielhorn's summing up of the names of the four sovereigns of Kanauj as presented by the Siyadoni inscription, went also by the *biruda* of Nirbhara or Nirbhaya (Nibbhara or Nibbhaya in the Prakrit form), a fact of which Fleet seems to have been unaware[9]. From these evidences, it is clear that Rājaśekhara

1 *Viddha-śāla*° i 6; *Bāla-rāmā*° i 5; *Bāla-bhāra*° i 7, 11; *Karpūra-mañj*° i 5, 9.

2 *Bāla-bhāra*° i 7.

3 *IA* xvi 175-78.

4 *GgA*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

5 Cf. *Bāla-rāmā*° x *ad* 87, 89, 90. Rājaśekhara's partiality for Mahôdaya is also apparent in our text at pp. 8, 94.

6 *EI* i 170 f.

7 *ZDMG* xxvii.

8 *op. cit.* p. 1221.

9 Fleet further shows (*op. cit.* p. 175f) that this Mahendrapāla must not be taken, as Peterson and Durgāprasāda

must have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century, and probably also lived towards the end of the 9th. This is also supported by the fact that the latest writer quoted by Rājaśekhara are Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana, who belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century, while the earliest writer to mention Rājaśekhara appears to be the Jaina Somadeva, whose *Yaśastilaka* is dated 960 A.D.[1].

are inclined to take him, to be identical with the feudatory Mahendrapāla, whose inscription from Dighwa-Dubauli, dated 761-62 A.D., he has edited in *IA* xv 105, and who is distinct from the pupil of Rājaśekhara.

1 For other details about Rājaśekhara see Sten Konow's edition of *Karpūra-mañj°* (Harvard Orient. Series 4, 1901) pp. 175f, which gives a full bibliography.

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XI DHANAÑJAYA AND DHANIKA

(I)

The date of Dhanañjaya may be taken as approximately settled. The author informs us (iv 80) that he was the son of Viṣṇu and that he flourished in the circle of distinguished literary men surrounding king Muñja, who himself seems to have been a man of taste and learning, as well as a patron of letters. We should not, with Peterson[1], confound this Muñja, better known as Muñja-vākpatirāja, with Vākpatirāja (or Bappai-rāa), the author of *Gauḍavaha*, who lived in the first half of the 8th century under king Yaśovarman of Kanauj and is referred to by Kalhaṇa (iv 144) and Rājaśekhara. Our Muñja appears to be the seventh ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, who, as his own inscriptions record[2], came to the throne in 974 A.D., succeeding his father Harṣadeva Sīyaka, and reigned till about 995 A.D., when he was defeated, imprisoned and executed, as the Cālukya inscriptions attest[3], by the Cālukya Tailapa II. Besides being known as Vāk-

1 introd. to *Subhāṣ°* p. 115.

2 *Arch. Survey, Western Ind.* iii 100=*IA* vi 48-51; *IA* xiv 159-60. See Bühler, *Das Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (transl. in *IA* xxxvi pp. 624-25), 1888, p. 116f.

3 *IA* xii 270, xvi 18, 23, xxi 167-68; *EI* ii 212 f. All the references (regarding Muñja's date) are collected together in Haas's introd. to his ed. of the *Daśarūpaka* (*q. v.*)

patirāja[1], owing perhaps to the fact that he was himself a poet, he had several other *birudas*, such as Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvī-vallabha, and Śrī-vallabha; and one of his inscriptions calls him Utpalarāja[2], a fact, overlooked by the editors of the Kāvyamālā Series (pt. i p. 131), made them confound him with Utpala, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was Abhinavagupta's *parama-guru*. This ruler is mentioned by Śambhu[3], as well as by Padmagupta[4], as "a friend of poets" (*kavi-bāndhava* or *kavi-mitra*); and Bhoja, his nephew and successor, appears to have inherited these traits of his character.

(2)

The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, in its treatment

1 Dhanika cites (on iv 54-55) one of Muñja's verses twice, citing him in the first instance as Muñja and in the other case as Vākpatirāja-deva; while Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mañjarī* uses both the names with respect to the same person. One of Muñja's descendants, Arjunavarman, who ruled in the beginning of the 13th century, reproduces one of Muñja's stanzas, with the remark that it was composed by one of his ancestors, "Muñja, whose other name was Vākpatirāja" (Comm. on *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, p. 23). This verse is attributed to Muñja also by Jalhaṇa 106a.

2 Kṣemendra quotes verses from Muñja, in his three works (*Aucit.vic. ad śl.* 16; *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* under ii 1; *Suvṛtta-til.* under ii 6) referring to him as Utpalarāja. See also Śārṅgadhara (126 *vākpatirājasya*; 1017 *utpalarājasya*), Vallabhadeva (3414 *śrī-harṣadevâtmaja-vākpatirājasya*), and Jalhaṇa (P 25b, 106a, *muñjasya*).

3 *Rājendra-karṇa-pūra*, śl 17, 36.

4 *Navasāhasāṅka°* i 7, 8, ii 93.

of Dramaturgy, is apparently based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata; but as Bharata's huge compendium, both from the practical as well as theoretical point of view, is discursive and cumbersome with its load of histrionic and other matters, Dhanañjaya attempts to sift the mass of details, and, limiting himself only to Dramaturgy, restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual. These features of the new contribution apparently obtained for it such reputation ond currency that in course of time it seems to have superseded not only all other treatises on the subject but also the basic work of Bharata himself. Viśvanātha, for instance, refers now and then to Bharata and gives one or two (mostly conventional) quotations from his work; but in the main he bases his treatment of dramaturgic topics on Dhanañjaya; while Vidyānātha admits, in the *nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* of his own work, his indebtedness to the latter, with the remark *eṣā prakriyā daśarūpókta-rītyanusāreṇa* (p. 131).

(3)

Dhanika, also described as the son of Viṣṇu, and author of the °*Avaloka* commentary on Dhanañjaya, was probably one of Dhanañjaya's numerous illustrious contemporaries; for he may be assigned to the same period. Dhanika quotes from Padmagupta (also known as Parimala)[1], who wrote about 995 A.D.,

1 on ii 37b=*Navasāhasâṅka*° vi 42.

as well as from Muñja, and is quoted in his turn by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* in the first half of the 11th century. He is also described in one of the MSS[1] as holding the office of *mahāsādhya-pāla* under king Utpalarāja, who is apparently our Muñja-vākpati, the patron of Dhanañjaya. The suggestion that the author and commentator of the *Daśarūpaka* are one and the same person, chiefly on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and the identity of the patronymic, as well as the inadvertant attribution of a verse of Dhanañjaya's to Dhanika in some later works like the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* vi 64a = *Daśarūpaka* iii 29), need not be seriously considered[2]. Jacobi, however, supports this suggestion[3]

1 Wilson, *Select Specimens*, 3rd ed. I xx, xxi, endorsed by Hall p. 3 notes. It is curious to note that Dhanika (on iv 23 ed Parab) quotes *nidrārdha*° which occurs in the *Caura-pañcāśikā* (ed. Solf no. 36) attributed to Bilhaṇa: but this anonymous quotation (which also occurs in Kuntala) does not of itself place Dhanika later than the middle of the 11th century, the date of Bilhaṇa; for the anthencity of the verse is not beyond question, as it is attributed to Kalaśaka in *Subhāṣ*° 1280 and Jalhaṇa 74a, and Bilhaṇa's authorship is still open to question. It is not safe, therefore, to base any choronological conclusion on this quotation. Haas has not noticed the verse at all.

2 Haas (Pref. to ed. *Daśarūpaka* xxxiv) is inaccurate in stating that there are in the commentary "a number of indications of a difference of authorship," and in support of this he cites ii 20b-21a, iii 32b, iv 43c. Jacobi elaborately shows (*GgA*, 1913, pp. 304f) that Haas has entirely misunderstood these passages.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 303. Also Lévi in *JA*, 1886, p. 221.

by pointing out that there is no seperate *maṅgalācaraṇa* to the commentary. This hypothesis, however, cannot altogether get rid of the fact that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika are indeed distinguished by some later writers. For instance, Vidyānātha, in his numerous references to the *Daśarūpaka*, cites the the *kārikā*-verses and never from the commentary[1], although his commentator, Kumārasvāmin, falls in one place[2] (p. 29) into the error of attributing one of Dhanañjaya's verses (ii 23b) to Dhanika. It may also be urged that a *maṅgala*-verse to the °*Avaloka*, occurring in one of the MSS, is rejected by Hall as spurious, chiefly on the ground that its style is "too pedestrian for so ornate a stylist as Dhanika" (p. 4 note). This 'pedestrian' stanza is apparently the same as that which occurs at the outset of Aufrecht's Bodleian MS, noticed by him in his *Bod. Cat.* 203a. On the other hand, the absence of the *maṅgala*-verse need not in itself be taken as decisive; for while Mammaṭa has no separate *maṅgala*-verse to his *vṛtti*, we find them in Vāmana and Ruyyaka. Śārṅgadhara in his anthology attributes to Dhanika several verses (3417 and 3973), which the latter gives as his own in his commentary (on iv 3a and ii 10a). If, therefore, we suppose, as it is more likely, that the author and the commentator were not identical, then

1 p. 46. 101, 102, 104, 105, 114, 124, 131, 219, 221, 228.

2 in other passages the citation appears to be correct, pp. 47, 128, 130, 221, 233, 235, 259. Raṅganātha on *Vikramor*° (about 1656 A.D., p. 31 ed N. S. P. 1914) falls into the same mistake. Mallinātha on *Kumāra*° i 4 and *Śiśu*° vii 11 quotes *Daśarūpaka* correctly (ii 36b and ii 24a).

Dhanika may be taken as a brother of Dhanañjaya (a supposition which explains the apparent similarity of names and the identity of patronymic), who collaborated in the production of the work[1] by writing the commentary.

From the °*Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, and also wrote a treatise, entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (on iv 35), which alludes to the *Dhvanyāloka* and apparently deals with the general topics of Poetics.

For other less known commentaries on *Daśarūpaka*, see Bibliography given below.

1 This supposition does not militate against the passage (on iv 33), referred to by Jacobi, in which the commentator intimately identifies himself with the author saying *asmābhiḥ* ....*niṣidhyate*, meaning that the prohibition is made both by his author and himself.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 247b, 789b; ii 53b; iii 53b; *SCC* vii 33, 34; *KBod* 484; *Madras Cat.* 12887, 12888-91 (with °Avaloka).

Dhanika

Editions. Printed in Hall's and Parab's editions, with the text.

MSS. Aufrecht i 248a, ii 53b, iii 53b; *SCC* vii 33, 34 (no *maṅgalâcaraṇa*); *Madas Cat.* 12888-91 (no *maṅgala*-verse). Dhanika's *Kāvya-nirṇaya* is probably lost.

Other Commentaries on Dhanañjaya

(1) comm. by Nṛsiṃhabhaṭṭa. Oppert 2615.

(2) °*Ṭīkā* by Devapāṇi (cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramôrva śi* ed. N. S. P. 1904, pp. 6, 31; cf *AFl* 444 and *ABod* 135b). No MSS discovered. This is the author who is wrongly called Pāṇi by Wilson (*Select Specimens*) and Aufrecht. Being anterior to Raṅganātha, his date should be earlier than 1656 A.D. Raṅganātha also refers to a *Sāhasâṅkīya-ṭīkā* in the same context (p. 31).

(3) °*Paddhati* by Kuravirāma. Ms in Hultzsch 554 (only three pages). Kuravirāma is a modern but fertile South Indian commentator who lived at the court of Zemindars of Kārvêtinagaram in North Arcot District, and wrote comms. also on two well-known poems, *Campū-bhārata* of Anantabhaṭṭa and *Viśvaguṇâdarśa* of Veṅkaṭa. He mentions in his comm. on the last named poem a commentary by himself on Appayya's *Kuvalay°*, as well on Dhanañjaya. See Hultzsch i p. xi.

XII KUNTALA

(1)

Kuntala, also called Kuntaka[1], is better known in Alaṁkāra literature under the descriptive designation of the Vakrôkti-jīvita-kāra[2] from the peculiar name of his work *Vakrôkti-jīvita*, which itself is so called because of its central theory that the *vakrôkti* is the 'soul' or essence of poesy. A MS of this work, long supposed to be lost, has been discovered in Madras and is being edited by the present writer for the Calcutta Oriental Series.

Kuntala's date[3] is fixed approximately by his quotation from the dramatist Rājaśekhara, on the one hand, and by Mahimabhaṭṭa's citation of Kuntala and his work, on the other. As Mahimbhaṭṭa flourished, as we shall see, towards the end of the 11th century, we may place Kuntala between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 11th. As this date falls in with the known dates of Abhinavagupta (whose

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1 by Mahimabhaṭṭa p. 58 and his commentator p. 16; Vidyādhara p. 51.

2 Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvyamālā p. 8, with Jayaratha (also pp. 12, 150 etc.) and Samudrabandha thereon (p. 4); Viśvanātha ed. Durgāprasāda p. 14; *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana I. 1. 1, ed. Benares p. 6, etc.

3 This question has been dealt with in detail in the introd. to my edition of the work, and is only briefly referred to here.

latest date is 1015 A.D.), we may take Kuntala as a contemporary of this commentator on Ānandavardhana. Although Abhinava refers to various views about *vakrôkti* held before his time, it is remarkable that he never alludes to the Vakrôkti-jīvita-kāra, who, as his title *rājānaka* indicates, was probably a Kashmirian, and whose work, if written before Abhinava's time, ought to have been, from its nature and contents, important enough to be thus entirely ignored by a rival theorist.

(2)

The first two chapters of the work, which is being published, give a general outline of his main theory; but it is not known how many chapters his original treatise comprised. The fourth chapter in the MS, however, which breaks off without completing the work, may be presumed to have formed its natural conclusion, inasmuch as it deals with the last variety of *vakratā* enumerated by the author. The running prose *vṛtti*, accompanying the *kārikā-ślokas*, and forming an integral part of the work itself, appears to have been composed by Kuntala himself; for not only the commentator expressly identifies himself with the author, but the citations of later writers[1] indicate that the *kārikās* should be taken *en bloc* with the *vṛtti*. Besides quotations from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Anaṅgaharṣa (author of the *Tāpasavatsarāja*), Hālā, Bāṇa Māgha, Bhāravi, Bhallaṭa,

1 comm. to *Vyakti-viveka* p. 16; *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana p. 6.

Amaru, Mayūra, Śrīharṣa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara, the author mentions by name Sarvasena, Mañjīra, Māyurāja (?), and the author of *Udāttarāghava*, and quotes from Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa and the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana). The work stands unique for its exposition of the theory of *vakrôkti*, which is apparently developed on the lines indicated by Bhāmaha, as well as for its analysis of a poetic figure on its basis, which is implicitly accepted by all writers from Ruyyaka to Jagannātha[1].

1 See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN* 1908.

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XIII KṢEMENDRA

(1)

The industrious Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra, with the surname Vyāsadāsa, is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his two interesting treatises, *Aucitya-vicāra* and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. He refers to another work of his[1], devoted to the treatment of poetic figures, entitled *Kavi-karṇikā*.

Kṣemendra himself gives us an indication of his date. The concluding verses of his two works, as well as of his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* (ed. Kāvymālā pt. 2, 1886), state that he wrote in the reign of king Ananta of Kashmir; while the colophon to his *Samayamātṛkā* tells us that it was finished in the reign of the same king in 1050 A.D. His *Daśāvatara-carita*, on the other hand, is dated by himself in 1066 A.D., in the reign of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. Bühler[2] is right, therefore, in fixing the period Kṣemendra's literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century[3].

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1 in *Aucit. vic. śl.* 2.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 46.

3 Dhanika, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, appears to quote (on i 61) two verses which occur in some MSS of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā* (ii 216, 217), and this apparently militates against this conclusion of Kṣemendra's date; but we know that the

(2)

Peterson proposed[1], against the opinion of Bühler, who appears to have left the question open, the identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, and who wrote, among numerous other works, a commentary on the *Śivasūtra* and on Abhinava's *Paramârthasāra*. Stein supports this identification, but Peterson himself appears to admit later on[2] that his own theory is doubtful. In his *Aucitya-vicāra*, Kṣemendra pays homage to Acyuta or Viṣṇu ; but we know that he was, like his father, a Śaiva in his youth but was converted afterwards into Vaiṣṇavism, as he himself indicates, by Somâcārya. This fact, as well as chronology, does not stand in the way of the proposed indentification, but there is no direct evidence to support it. Kṣemendra describes himself as the son of Prakāśendra and grandson of

Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī was composed about 1037 A.D., and as the four lines in question occur in one of the MSS only, it is generally admitted now, for this and other reasons, that they are later interpolations. Kṣemendra (*Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 11, 16, 20) quotes Parimala (otherwise known as Padmagupta) who was a contemporary of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika.

1 i p. 11, 85 and Bühler in *IA* xiii, 1884, p. 29. Bühler really proposed the indentification of Kṣemarāja, author of *Sāmbapañcāśikā* with Kṣemendra who wrote *Spanda-saṃdoha*, but distinguished both from the poet Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa (See *Kashmir Rep.* p. 81 and fn).

2 iv p. xxiii.

Sindhu[1], and the name of his preceptor is given as Gaṅgaka[2]. He was also the father of Somendra, and preceptor of Udayasiṃha and *rājaputra* Lakṣaṇāditya[3]. We know nothing, on the other hand, of Kṣemarāja's genealogy or personal history. But we are told at the end of the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* that Kṣemendra learnt *sāhitya* from Abhinavagupta, while Kṣemarāja at the end of his *Svacchandôddyota*[4] (as well as in the colophon to his *Stava-cintāmaṇi*) is described as *śiṣya* of the same great philosopher. It is worth noting, however, that while Kṣemendra's surname *Vyāsadāsa*[5] is given in all his works (with the exception of his *Kalā-vilāsa*), it does not occur in any of Kṣemarāja's philosophical treatises. Kṣemendra has taken care to let us know a great deal about himself, but Kṣemarāja always hides his light under the bushel and is apparently free from this trace of natural vanity. The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satifactorily solved when, as Bühler long ago pointed out[6], the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found.

A list of Kṣemendra's numerous works is given below.

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1 concluding verse of the *Daśâvatāra*.

2 *Aucit. vic. ad śl* 31.

3 *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* *ad* v i (pp. 138, 139).

4 Bühler *op. cit.* App. ii p. clxix (extract).

5 Three stanzas are attributed to Vyāsadāsa in *Subhās°* (460, 1658, 3039).

6 *IA* xiii, *loc. cit.*

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a. Aucitya-vicāra-carcā

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā pt. i 1886 (2) with comm. Sahṛdaya-toṣiṇī. Madras 1906. Our references are to the former. For an account of the work, see Peterson in *JRASBom.* xvi pp. 167 f., where all the quotations in the work are collected together and discussed.

MSS. Aufrecht i 76b, 776b, iii 17a.

b. Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa

Editions. Kāvyamālā pt. iv 1887. A monograph on the work with analyais and German translation by Schönberg, Wien 1884 (in *Sb. der Wiener Akad.*)

MSS. Aufrecht i 86b, iii 18b.

There is no trace of Kṣemendra's *Kavi-karṇikā*.

The Works of Kṣemendra. A revised list of the works of Kṣemendra, as mentioned by Peterson, Schönberg, editor of the Kāvyamālā (pt. i pp. 35, 115) and Aufrecht may be given here. Those which are quoted in *Aucitya-vicāra*, *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Suvṛtta-tilaka* are marked respectively with the signs (A), (K) and (S).

1 Amṛta-taraṅga (or °turaṅga) (K) 2 Aucitya-vicāra 3 Avasara-sāra (A) 4 Kanaka-Jānakī (K) 5 Kalā-vilāsa (ed. Kāvyamāla pt. 1) 6 Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa 7 Kavi-karṇikā (A) 8 Kṣemendra-prakāśa (mentioned in *ABod* 38b) 9 Caturvarga-saṃgraha (A and ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 5) 10 Cārucaryā (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 2) 11 Citrabhārata-nāṭaka (A and K) 12 Darpadalana (ed Kāvyamāla pt. 6) 13 Daśāvatāracarita-kāvya (ed. Kāvyamāla 26) 14 Deśôpadeśa (K) 15 Dānapārijāta 16 Nīti-kalpataru (may be the same as Nīti-latā quoted in A) 17 Padya-kādambarī (K) 18 Pavana-pañcāśikā (S) 19

Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī (ed. Kāvyamālā 69) 20 Bauddhâvadāna-kālpalatā (A) 21 Bhārata-mañjarī (ed. N. S. P.) 22 Muktâvali-kāvya (A and K) 23 Munimata-mīmāṃsā (A) 24 Rājâvalī (mentioned in Kalhaṇa i 13) 25 Rāmāyaṇa-kathā-sāra (ed. Kāvyamālā 83) 26 Lalitaratna-mālā (A) 27 Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya (A and K) 28 Vātsyāyanasūtra-sāra (A aud quoted in the *Pañcasāyaka*) 29 Vinaya-vallī (A) 30 Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati (from the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī) 31 Vyāsâṣṭaka (A and K) 32 Śaśi-vaṃśa-mahākāvya (K) 33 Samayamātṛkā (ed. Kāvyamālā 12) 34 Suvṛtta-tilaka (ed. Kāvyamāla pt. 2) 35 Sevyasevakôpadeśa (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 2). The Hastijanaprakāśa, mentioned by Schönberg and Peterson is by Kṣemendra, son of Yadu Śarman (see Kāvyamālā p. 115 fn and Aufrecht i 765). The Navaucitya-vicāra in Schönberg is probably the same work as Aucityavicāra. The Kalāvilāsa has been translated into German by R. Schmidt in *WZKM* xxviii, 1914, p. 406f; the Darpadalana by the same in *ZDMG* lxix, 1915, p. 1f (also ed. and transl by B. A. Hirszbant. St. Petersberg, 1892).

XIV BHOJA

(1)

The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja seems to be Hemacandra[1], who flourished as we shall see, in the first half of the 12th century; while Vardhamāna, who however did not write till 1140 A.D., mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇaratna*, the *vṛtti* on which explains this Bhoja as the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The latest writer quoted by Bhoja appears to be Rājaśekhara[2], whose latest date is the beginning of the 10th century, although some verses from the *Caura-pañcāśikā* (no. 12, ed. Bohlen), attributed to Bilhaṇa, occur in the *Sarasvatī-k°* (*ad.* i 152)[3]. Bhoja appears also to refer in one verse (*ad* i 71, p. 22) to Muñja, appearently Muñja-vākpatirāja of Mālava. Jacob[4] in misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu, (who did not write his commentary on Rudraṭa till 1069 A.D.) in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja; for the verses in question, though found in Nami, are not Nami's

1 p. 295 Comm., besides anonymous quotations.

2 From *Karpūra-mañj°*, *Bāla-bhā°*, and *Viddhaśāla°*. See Sten Konow's ed. of *Karpūra-mañj°* pp. 198 f., for the quotations: also Jacob *JRAS*, 1897, p. 304f.

3 We have not based any chronological inference on this, because Bilhaṇu's anthorship of the work is not beyond question and Solf tries to demonstrate the existence of a poet called Cora or Caura, whose date is not known.

4 *op. cit.* p. 304.

own but really quoted by him from previous authors[1]. Bhoja also quotes about sixteen times from the *Daśarūpaka* and its commentary, which belong to the time of Muñja, i.e. the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, places the author of the *Sarasvatī-k*° in the period between the second and the fourth quarters of the 11th century; and as this date fits in easily with the known dates of the 9th Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā, one of the well-known princes of the 11th century, noted for his patronage of letters, the two may be taken to have been reasonably identified. Our Bhoja is frequently cited in later Alaṃkāra literature as Bhojarāja, and some times simply as *rājan*[2] which designation, like that

1 For instance, the verse *ayaṃ padmāsanāsīna*° (Bhoja *ad* i 51 p. 15) is found, no doubt, in Nami on xi 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, from Bhāmaha ii 55. Similarly the two verses *sa marutā* and *sa pītavāsā*, quoted by Bhāmaha himself (ii 41, 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarman) occur in Bhoja anonymously (*ad* i 121, pp. 43, 44), but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's comm. instead of going directly to Bhāmaha, from whom he quotes several other verses directly (e.g, *ākrośan nāhvayan*, Bhoja *ad* iii, 8, p. 144 = Bhāmaha ii 94; Bhāmaha ii 92 = Bhoja *ad* iv 51, p. 226-7 = *Subhāṣ*° 1645 *bhāmahasya*). Similar remarks apply to the other supposed quotations given by Jacob, whose mistake is probably due to the fact that Bhāmaha's text was not available to him.

2 e.g. Vidyādhara pp. 98, 150, 192, 287, 304, and Mallinātha pp. 287, 304 etc.

of *muni* applied to Bharata, seems to mark him out *par excellence* in this literature.

(2)

Kalhaṇa states (vii 259)[1] that king Bhoja of Dhārā was the true friend of poets; and it is possible that he had himself literary predilections. He was the son and successor of Sindhurāja and a nephew Muñja-vākpatirāja who was also, as we have seen a great patron of letters. The date of Bhoja is well known from his own and other inscriptions[2]. Alberuni[3] mentions him as still reigning in 1030 A D., while the date *śaka* 964 = 1042 A.D. is given by the *Rāja-mṛgāṅka* which is attributed to Bhoja. We know also that he fought with Cālukya Jayasiṃha III between 1011 and 1019 A.D., and with the latter's successor Someśvara (1042-1066 A.D.), who according to Bilhaṇa took Dhārā by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. Bilhaṇa himself speaks of Bhoja as of a contemporary 'whom he did not visit though he might have done so'[4]. In Kalhaṇa's assertion, referred to above, with respect to Bhoja and Kṣitirāja, the phrase *tasmin kṣaṇe* is taken by Bühler to refer to the period when, after the nominal coronation of Kalasa in 1062

1 *sa ca bhoja-narendraś ca dānôtkarṣeṇa viśrutau / sūrī tasmin kṣaṇe tulyaṃ dvâvāstāṃ kavi-bāndhavau.*

2 *IA* v 17, 318f, vi 53f ; *EI* i 230f.

3 ed. Sachau i 191. According to Merutuṅga, Bhoja succeeded Muñja in *saṃvat* 1078 = 1022 A.D. See, however, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-83, pp. 44-45.

4 Bühler's ed. *Vikramâṅka*° p. 23 fn, also text xviii 96.

A.D., Kṣitirāja became a *sannyāsin* and sometimes visited king Ananta in order to console him. If this interpretation is correct, we get a limit to Bhoja's date at 1062 A.D. A copper-plate of his successor Jayasiṃha, however, is dated 1055 A.D., and throws doubt on Bühler's conjecture. But all this will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with great probability between 1010 and 1055 A.D.; i.e. roughly covering a part of the first and the whole of the second quarter of the 11th century, and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century. The exact dates of his accession and death are unknown.

(3)

Besides his well-known *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Bhoja appears also to have written a work called *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*[1], a MS of which has been recently acquired by the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras[2]. It is composed in 36 *prakāśas*, and is described as the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics. The first eight chapters are devoted to the quasi-grammatical question relating to word and its sense as the means of expression, and the theory of *vṛtti*. The ninth and the tenth chapters describe the blemishes and excellences of expression (*doṣa*

1 This work is mentioned by Vidyādhara p. 98, Kumārasvāmin p. 114, 221; Rāyamukuṭa and Sarvānanda on Amara; Hemādri on *Raghu* etc.

2 mentioned in the *Rep. of the Working of the Peripatetic Party* of the Library, 1916-19.

and *guṇa*); while the eleventh and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the *mahā-kāvya* and the drama. The next twenty-four chapters treat exclusively of the *rasas*, of which the *śṛṅgāra* or love is maintained to be the principal and essential, and the work derives its name from Bhoja's theory that *śṛṅgāra* is the only one *rasa* admissible[1]. As in the *Sarasvatī-k°*, this work, in the manner of a cyclopaedic compilation, gives a large number of quotations to illustrate the rules and principles laid down. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa*, which deals with the same subject, constitutes really a summary of the important chapters of Bhoja.

(4)

The *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* is not a very original work, but consists chiefly of a patient compilation in an encyclopeadic manner from earlier treatises, especially from Daṇḍin, from whom he takes, according to the calculation of Jacob[2], no less than 164 illutrations. From the index of citations given by Jacob, we find that Vāmana is quoted 22 times, Rudraṭa 19 times, the *Dhavanyāloka* more than 10 times (six of the *kārikās* being reproduced), while it is curious to note that Bhoja makes a good use of Bhaṭṭi's illustrations of the figure *yamaka* and its numerous

1 Cf Vidyādhara *rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam urarīcakāra* p. 98; Kumārasvāmin p. 221 *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti śṛṅgāraprakāśa-kāraḥ*.

2 *loc. cit.*

sub-species. While the chief value of Bhoja's work consists in its abundant wealth of illustrations and examples, numbering about 1500, to every rule and prescription, it is nevertheless interesting as embodying, in the main, a tradition of opinion, which is also represented in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but which in many respects stands apart from the orthodox Kashmirian school.

(5)

The commentators on Bhoja, as noted below, are not numerous, nor are they of much importance. Ratneśvara's commentary has been published several times together with the text, but so far only three chapters of it have been printed.

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Editions. (1) by Borooah, Calcutta 1883, 1884 (2) by Vīreśvara Śāstrī, Benares 1888 (chs. iv and v) (3) by Jīvānanda, with comm. of Ratneśvara (on chs. i-iii), Calcutta 1894 (4) Kāvyamālā (partly published). Our references are to ed. Boorah 1884.

MSS. Aufrecht i 699b; ii 167a, 232b; iii 145a ; *SCC* vii 47, 48; *KBod* 489; *SCB* 34 (with comm.); *Madras Cat.* 12962.

Commentaries. (1) *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Miśra Ratneśvara. (ed. with the text by Jīvānanda, Calcutta 1894; ed. Benares as above. MSS. Aufrecht i 699b, ii 167a, 232b, iii 145a; *KBod* 490; *SCC* vii 49; *Madras Cat.* 12963). The nominal author **Rāmasiṃhadeva,**

mentioned in the introductory stanza 2, is apparently the author's patron. In the colophon, the author's name is given as Miśra Ratneśvara and in Benares ed. of the text, the commentary is said to have been written at the command of Rāmasiṃhadeva. In the Catalgues, the work is sometimes inaccurately given as by Rāmasiṃhadeva. The author refers to a comm. on the *Kāv. prak.* by himself. Only the first three chapters of this *Ratnadarpaṇa* have been published in the editions noted; and both the Madras and Bodleian MSS contain these chapters only.

(2) °*Mārjanā* by Harinātha, mentioned by himself in his comm. on Daṇḍin (*ABod* 206b).

(3) *Duskara-citra-prakāśikā* by Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht iii 145a. He may be indentical with Lakṣmīnātha who according to Kielhorn *Report* 1880-81 p. 71, wrote his *Piṅgala-pradīpa* in 1601 A.D. Kielhorn's MS of this latter work appears to have been copied in 1660, while Burnell's (*Piṅgalārtha-dīpikā* pp. 53b, 175b) in 1632 A.D.

(4) °*Tīkā* by Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara and Damayantī. Aufrecht ii 167a, 232b; extract is given in Ulwar 1086. This work is probably earlier than the 17th century but later than the 14th (see Bhandarkar Pref. to *Mālatīmādhava* pp. xviii-xxi). Jagaddhara's genealogy is given thus: Caṇḍeśvara→Vedeśvara (Vedadhara)→Rāmadhara (Rāmeśvara)→Gadādhara→Vidyādhara→Ratnadhara→Jagaddhara. He wrote several commentaries (Aufrecht i 195) on the *Meghadūta*, *Vāsavadattā*, *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, *Mālatī-mādhava* etc.

(5) Comm. by Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa. *SCB* 34.

b. *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*

The only MS known is in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, mentioned in their *Report* quoted above. See above p. 147.

XV MAHIMABHAṬṬA

(1)

Rājānaka Mahiman, Mahimaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, who is cited generally as the Vyaktiviveka-kāra[1] from the name of his work, was, as indicated by his title, probably a Kashmirian writer, who describes himself as the son of Śrī-dhairya and disciple of *mahākavi* Śyāmala. He informs us at the outset of his work (i 3) that his principal object is to consider the views of the Dhvanikāra; and as in the course of his discourse he examines the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoting from the *kārikā* and the *vṛtti*, with a minuteness which cannot be mistaken, we may infer with certainty that he was later than Ānandavardhana[2]. It is also probable that Mahimabhaṭṭa was later than Ānanda's commentator, Abhinavagupta; for in some places he betrays an acquaintance with the latter's work. At p. 19, for instance, Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes directly a long passage from the *Locana* (p. 33), and shows himself alive to the point

1 Viśvanātha, ed. Durgāprasāda N. S. P., 1915, p. 18, 249; Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii 21; Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 12; Keśava Miśra p. 80-81; Jagannātha p. 13; etc. Keśava mentions his name as Mahiman.

2 Cf Jayaratha p. 12; *dhvanikārāntarabhāvī vyaktivivekakāra iti*, the Dhvanikāra being, to Jayaratha, Ānandavardhana himself.

involved in Abhinava's discussion by criticising it. The passage refers to *Dhvanyāloka* i 13 where the Dhvanikāra uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with the express purpose, as Abhinava explains, of indicating a duality of sense. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka appears to have taken exception to this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinava concludes by remarking ***tena yad bhaṭṭa-nāyakena dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.*** Mahimabhaṭṭa, referring to this discussion, quotes anonymously the remarks of Abhinava (not only the above line but the whole passage), with the statement ***kecid vimāninaḥ............yad āhus tad bhrānti-mūlam.*** The terms of reference apparently indicate, as Narasiṃha Iyengar rightly points out[1], that Mahimabhaṭṭa is here referring clearrly to Abhinava as a theorist of a rival system who, if not contemporaneous, could not have flourished long before his own time. This gives us one terminus to Mahimabhaṭṭa's date. On the other hand, Ruyyaka who, as we shall see, flourished in the first half of the 12th century and probably also wrote the anonymous commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa, printed in the Trivandrum edition of the text, is the earliest writer to quote and criticise Mahimabhaṭṭa[2]. We may, therefore, assign Mahimabhaṭṭa to the period between Abhinava and Ruyyaka, i.e. later than the first quarter of the 11th but earlier

1 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 65f.

2 Iyengar (*op. cit.*) and Haricānd (*op. cit.* p. 105) think that Mahimabhaṭṭa is "quoted or criticised" by Mammaṭa; but, as *Kāv. prak.* v p. 252 (B. S. S. 1917) shows, Mammaṭa does not at all cite Mahimabhaṭṭa or his work, but only

than the first quarter of the 12th century, and approximately fix his date towards the last half or the end of the 11th century. This date will be in harmony with the probable date of Śyāmala, who is mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa as his preceptor, if this Śyāmala is the same poet as is quoted by Kṣemendra[1].

(2)

It is difficult to determine what relation Mahimbhaṭṭa bore to Śaṅkuka's who was also, like Mahima-

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criticises an *anumāna*-theory which tries to explain the concept of *dhvani* by means of inference. No chronological conclusion can be based on this; for Ānandavardhana also refers to a similar theory long before Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote.

1 *Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 16; *Suvṛtta. til ad* ii 31. Also *Subhāṣ*° 2292 and Jalhaṇa 165b. Kṣemendra's Śyāmala appears to be identical with Śyāmilaka, who wrote the *bhāṇa* entitled *Pāda-tāḍitaka* (ed. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi and Rāmanātha Śāstrī, Madras 1922); for the verses, attributed to Śyāmala in the two works of Kṣemendra noted above, occur as *śl.* 33 and the 125 respectively in the printed text of the *bhāṇa*. The colophon describes the author as son of Viśveśvaradatta and an *udīcya* (northerner), which makes it probable that he is the Kashmirian Śyāmala, Śyāmalaka or Śyāmilaka, also cited by Abhinavagupta. Both Abhinava and Kuntala quote anonymously verses from this *bhāṇa*. The verse ascribed to Śyāmalaka in the *Subhāṣ*° (*prāyaścittam-mṛgayate yaḥ priyā-pāda-tāḍitam / kṣālanīyaṃ śiras tasya kāntā-gaṇḍūṣa-sīdhubhiḥ*) refers unmistakably to this *bhāṇa*, and the second line occurs in a slightly modified form in the *bhāṇa* itself (*ad* śl 132). Rājaśekhara cites a Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17).

bhaṭṭa, an *anumiti-vādin*[1] in his theory of *rasa*, for Śaṅkuka's work has not yet been recovered. Our author claims for himself originality of treatment and freedom from slavish imitation[2], and his omission of all references to his predecessor need not, therefore, appear strange. The only testimony of Rāmacaraṇa, an 18th century Bengal commentator on Viśvanātha[3], need not be seriously considered; but it is probable that the theory developed by Mahima did not originate in himself. Ānandavardhana refutes at some length some theory of *anumāna* (pp. 201f) which attempted to explain that the suggested sense, posited by the *dhvani*-theory, can be arrived at by the process of logical inference. Mahimabhaṭṭa probably worked out systematically some such thesis (anticipated, it may be, by Ānandavardhana), as a direct rejoinder to Ānanda's classical exposition; but there is no evidence to connect him with the theory accredited to Śaṅkuka by Abhinavagupta and others.

(3)

From the *Vyaktiviveka* itself (p. 108) we learn that Mahimabhaṭṭa also wrote a work entitled

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1 He is so called by Mallinātha (*Taralā* p. 85) and Kumārasvāmin (p. 219).

2 He says, for instance, that he has written his work without looking at *Candrikā* and *Darpaṇa*, which apparently had the same object in view as the demolition of the *dhvani*-theory (i 4, 5).

3 ed. Durgāprasāda p. 248: ed. Röer p. 121 note, *śaṅkuka-matānuyāyinām vyaktiviveka-kārādīnām matam dūṣayati*.

Tattvōkti-koṣa, where he is said to have discussed what he calls *pratibhā-tattva*[1], in connexion with the poetic conception of an idea.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work which recognised the new concept of *dhvani*, but tried to explain it by the established process of *anumāna* (and not by the separate function of *vyañjanā* explained by Ānanda-vardhana), never found any recognition in the hands of later theorists, most of whom became partisans of the latter. Even his commentator does not appear to possess much sympathy for his somewhat extreme view, and Mahimabhaṭṭa is rather unique in having no followers in later literature.

The commentator referred to has been identified with some reason with Ruyyaka, who has another commentary on Mammaṭa to his credit, as well as several independent works on Alaṃkāra. We shall deal with him hereafter as an independent writer on Alaṃkāra.

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1 Cf Jacobi *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv 225 fn.

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Commentary. As noted above.

XVI MAMMATA AND ALLATA

(1)

A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa whose name[1], as well as the title *rājānaka*, indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. The story relied upon by Hall[2] and Weber[3] that Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of the author of *Naiṣadha* may be relegated to the region of fantastic fables which often gather round

1 Aufrecht (i 432) notes that Mammaṭa's original name was Mahimabhaṭṭa on the mistaken authority of Keśava Miśra's erroneous citation (p. 80-81). The passage in which Keśava cites Mahimabhaṭṭa clearly refers not to Mammaṭa but to Mahiman, author of the *Vyaktiviveka*, mentioned in the same context. The verse *anaucityād ṛte*, however, which is thus quoted and attributed to Mahiman by Keśava, occurs originally in the *vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 145) from which apparently it is also cited in the *Vyakti-viveka* (pp. 31, 114) with a *sa evāha*, along with many other verses similarly quoted from the same text. Keśava might have taken the verse directly from the *Vyaktiviveka's* citation, without knowing the original source, and wrongly attributed it to Mahiman himself. It does not occur at all in the *Kāv. prak.* Aufrecht's suggestion, therefore, that Mammaṭa is a corruption of the name Mahimabhaṭṭa, like his other supposition that the name Rudrabhaṭṭa yields Rudraṭa, is unwarranted. Cf Peterson ii p. 19.

2 introd. to *Vāsavadattā* p. 55.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* (Eng. trans. 2nd ed.), p. 232 fn.

celebrated names. The lower limit of Mammaṭa's date, however, may be fixed with reference to two commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, of which the date can be ascertained. The commentary of Māṇikyacandra is expressly dated in *saṃvat* 1216 = 1160 A.D. The exact date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known, but we know from other sources that Ruyyaka flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[1]. Mammaṭa, therefore, cannot be placed later the beginning of the 12th century.

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1 Jhalakīkara maintains, on the authority of Paramānanda Cakravartin and Nāgoji on Mammaṭa, that Mammaṭa in several places criticises Ruyyaka, who therefore must be placed earlier than Mammaṭa. But the passages he cites do not support his contention. Thus the verse *rājati taṭīyam* (*Kāv. prak.* p. 758) is supposed to be directed against Ruyyaka p. 199, where the same verse is quoted in the same context. It appears, however, that Mammaṭa gives this verse as an instance of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara* without any comment but with the simple statement that here we have a commixture of *yamaka* and *anuloma-pratiloma-citra* dependent on one another. Ruyyaka, on the other hand, citing the same verse and referring to the opinions of "other authors" comments on it at some length. He remarks that though the verse is given by some as an example of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara*, such commixture of *śabdālaṃkāras*, in his opinion, is not possible, and the example is faulty. The verse itself occurs in Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (v 137). Jayaratha and Samudrabandha also remark in this connexion that the anonymous authors, referred to by Ruyyaka in his criticism, allude to "Mammaṭa and others." Besides, Ruyyaka himself quotes (p. 102) Mammaṭa's *kārikā* iv 15-16. Jayaratha expressly says that Ruyyaka wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa called *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa* (p. 102). In several other places, both Jayaratha and Samudra-

The other limit cannot be settled so satisfactorily. It has been maintained that Mammaṭa in one verse (*bhoja-nṛpates tat-tyāga-līlāyitam* x *ad* 29b ; B. S. S. ed. 1917, p. 684) eulogises Bhoja with whom he should be presumed to have been contemporaneous. This is sought to be supported by the story, related by a very late commentator Bhīmasena[1], that Mammaṭa was the son of Jayyaṭa and had two brothers Kayyaṭa and Uvvaṭa, of whom Uvvaṭa is taken to be the well-known commentator on the Vedic works, some of which, as he himself tells us, were composed in Avantī while Bhoja was still reigning. It is suggested on this ground that Uvvaṭa was probably the medium of the quotation referred to above relating to his royal patron ; or, assuming it to have been composed by Mammaṭa himself, it might have obtained for its author an introduction into the munificent court of Bhoja[2]. But this theory is untenable ; for Uvvaṭa tells us that his father's name was Vajraṭa and not Jayyaṭa ; and it is not clear that the stanza in question, given anonymously as an instance of the figure *udātta* (which consists in a description of the wealth and prosperity of an exalted personage) was composed by Mammaṭa himself, who certainly borrows similar illustrative verses from

bandha point out that Ruyyaka is criticising Mammaṭa (e.g. Jayaratha pp. 77, 102, 107, 150, 163, 199, 204; Samudrabandha pp. 23, 25, 119, 156, 243, 249 etc.).

1 introd. to ed. *Kāv-prak.* in B. S. S. (3rd. ed. 1917) pp. 6-7: also extract in Peterson i p. 94.

2 Gaṅgānātha Jhā in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* pp. vi-vii.

various sources. All that this anonymous verse may be taken to establish is that its allusion to king Bhoja indicates that Mammaṭa was not probably earlier than Bhoja.

We may, therefore, place Mammaṭa between Ruyyaka on the one hand and Bhoja on the other, if we may assume, on the authority of the commentators, the identity of this Bhoja with the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, the reputed author of the *Sarasvatī-k*°. In other words, Mammaṭa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammaṭa's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century.

(2)

Although well-known for his *Kāvya-prakāśa*, which helped to establish finally and exclusively the doctrines of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa is also the author of a less known work entitled the *Śabdavyāpāra-paricaya* which, as its name implies, is a short dissertation on the expressive functions (*vṛtti*) of words. Mammaṭa, like most writers on Poetics, was also well-versed in the allied science of grammar, proficiency in which he also displays in the larger work.

On a summary examination of the contents of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, it will appear that the work is carefully planned and systematically worked out.

Peterson, however, on the indication given in Rājānaka Ānanda's *Nidarśana*[1] commentary, first called in question the unity of the work, although his first erroneous impression[2], corrected afterwards by himself,[3] was that the *kārikā*-text was composed by Mammaṭa, while the running prose-*vṛtti* was added by some other hand. There is enough evidence now to show that Mammaṭa composed nearly the whole work (*kārikā* and *vṛtti*), and only a small portion of the last chapter, left incomplete by him, was completed by another author, whose name is given by Ānanda as Alaṭa or Ālaka. That the fact of joint-authorship is skilfully concealed is supposed to be alluded to in the last verse, given in most of the MSS[4], which apparently says that "this way of the learned, though different yet appearing identical, is not strange, for here the only cause is a properly constructed (plan of) combination." This may be explained, no doubt, as meaning that the author here claims the credit of having skilfully removed, in his systematic work, all conflict of opinions held by different authors on Poetics; but most commentators agree in finding here a hint implying that the work left incomplete by Mammaṭa was completed by some other person, and the traces of joint-authorship are

1 The name of this comm. is *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* as well as *Kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśana.*

2 *Rep.* i p. 21 f.

3 *Rep.* ii p. 13 f. Cf Bühler in *IA* xiii 30.

4 *ityeṣa mārgo viduṣāṃ vibhinno'- | pyabhinna-rūpaḥ pratibhāsate yat | na tad vicitraṃ yad amutra samyag | vinirmitā saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.*

ingeniously obliterated. Māṇikyacandra Sūri, one of the earliest commentators, does not comment on this verse[1], but Ruyyaka remarks in his °*Saṃketa* commentary: *eṣa grantho granthakṛtānena katham apyasamāptatvād apareṇa ca pūritāvaśeṣatvād dvi-khaṇḍo'pyakhaṇḍatayā yad avabhāsate tatra saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.* In this view Ruyyaka is followed by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Someśvara, Narahari Sarasvatī-tīrtha, Kamalākara, Ānanda, Jajñeśvara and other early as well as late commentators. Rājānaka Ānanda, however, is more explicit and quotes a traditionary verse[2] to show that Mammaṭa composed the work up to the treatment of the figure *parikara* (x 32), while the rest, consisting of a small portion of the concluding chapter, was completed by Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa[3].

This statement about the joint-authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* receives confirmation from an indipendent source. Commenting on *Amaru-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, *śl.* 30), Arjunavarman who, flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa* vii *ad* 14 (the verse *prasāde vartasva*[4] cited therein) with the remark

1 Peterson iii p. 19.

2 *kṛtaḥ śrī-mammaṭācārya-varyaiḥ parikarāvadhiḥ | prabandhaḥ pūritaḥ śeṣo vidhāyālaṭa* (°*laka* or °*llaṭa*) *sūriṇā.*

3 This is perhaps the reason why in some MSS of the work, the colophon puts down the names of Mammaṭa and Allaṭa (or Alaka) as the authors, e.g. Bodleian MS (Hultzsch collection 172), which is a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā character, reads: *iti kāvyaprakāśābhidhānaṃ kāvya-lakṣaṇaṃ samāptam, kṛtiḥ śrī-rājānaka-mammaṭakālakayoḥ.*

4 This verse is ascribed to Candraka in Śārṅgadhara 3565.—On this question, see Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 208.

yathôdāhṛtaṃ doṣa-nirṇaye mammaṭālakābhyām. In the same chapter on *doṣa* in the *Kāvya-prakāśā*, Amaru 72 is quoted as instancing the fault technically known as *jugupsāślīlā* (vulgarity causing disgust), because the word *vāyu* in the verse is supposed to connote vulgar associations. Arjunavarman defends Amaru from this fastidious criticism with the pointed remark: *kiṃ tu hlādaikamayī-vara-labda-prasādau kāvyaprakāśakārau prāyeṇa doṣa-dṛṣṭī, yenaivaṃvidheṣvapi paramārtha-sahṛdayānanda-padeṣu sarasa-kavisaṃdarbheṣu doṣam eva sākṣāt akurutām.* Both these passages, which mention the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, refer in particular to ch. vii where the *doṣas* or faults of composition are discussed Unless the remarks be taken to imply a general reference to the fact of joint-authorship without particularly meaning collaboration of any special chapter, one may be led to the conclusion that Allaṭa (here mentioned as Alaka) had a hand not only in the 10th, as the the tradition makes it out, but also in the 7th chapter.

(3)

Of the three forms of the name, Alaka, Alaṭa and Allaṭa, the last, which is given in Stein's Jammu MS, seems to be the most authentic. The *ṭa* is a well-known suffix to Kashmirian names, and Stein says that "this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmirian Paṇḍits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar."[1] This Allaṭa or

1 See *Jammu Cat.* pp. xxiii f.

Alaka is supposed to be the same as Rājānaka Alaka who wrote a commentary on Ruyyaka, and is quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha as such[1]. If this identification, which was suggested by Peterson but disfavoured by Stein, is correct, then we must also ascribe to him the *Viṣamapadôddyata* commentary[2] on Ratnākara's *Haravijaya*, where Alaka is described as the son of Rājānaka Jayānaka. It appears strange, however, that Allaṭa, the continuator of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, should also be the commentator of Ruyyaka, who in his turn commented on the same work. This will make the two writers commentators on each other's text; and if this were so, we may naturally expect a reference to this fact by Ruyyaka, who otherwise alludes to the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but does not mention the name of Allaṭa as the continuator[3].

(4)

A tradition, chiefly obtaining in Bengal, as we find it in Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Maheśvara

1 Peterson ii p. 17f.

2 i pp. 13 17. Cf. Bühler, *Kashmir Rep.* p. 45. The work, extending over 50 cantos, has been printed in Kāvyamālā 22.

3 It is clear, however, that the combination of names in the colophon to a MS of the *Kāv. prak.* (containing, in the same codex, the text and Ruyyaka's °*Saṃketa* commentary), viz., *iti śrīmadrājānakāllaṭa-mammaṭa-rucaka-viracite nija-grantha-kāvyaprakāśa-saṃkete prathama ullāsaḥ*, should not lead us to think, as Peterson and Stein do, that the *Kāv. prak.* is a joint-compilation of Allaṭa, Mammaṭa and Rucaka

Nyāyâlaṃkāra, two very late Bengal commentators on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*[1], imputes the authorship of the *kārikās* (here called *sūtras*[2]) to Bharata and the prose-*vṛtti* to Mammaṭa, while Bharata himself is said to have drawn upon the *Agni-purāṇa*. While the last assertion about the *Agni-purāṇa* has no foundation in fact and is apparently prompted by the amiable but unhistorical imagination of late writers, which delights in exalting the antiquity of the *Purāṇas*, the suggestion of Bharata's authorship of the *kārikās* is too unauthentic and fanciful to be accepted. Mammaṭa's authorship of the *kārikās* has been declared by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 109 = *Kāv. prak.* v 1-2b) in the first quarter of the 12th century, as well as accepted by a succession of authors and

(or Ruyyaka), but it only indicates the names of the authors of the original work (viz, Mammaṭa and Allaṭa) as well as the name of the author of the °*Saṃketa* commentary comprised in the codex.

1 Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Sāhitya-kaumudī* on Mammaṭa, ed. Kāvyamālā 63, 1897, p. 2, and comm.; also comm. p. 1. and text p. 189. Cf. Peterson ii p. 10f. Maheśvara's comm. (ed. Jīvānanda, 1876) p. 1. This view is also endorsed by Jayarāma Pañcānana, another Bengal commentator on Mammaṭa (see Peterson ii pp. 21-2 , 107).

2 The term *sūtra* should not mislead us to think that the work might have been originally composed in that form, upon which the later *kārikā*-verses were based; for it is not unusual for the commentators to refer to Mammaṭa's *kārikās* themselves as *sūtras*: e.g. °*Pradīpa*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 378 *sūtre vibhāga upalakṣaṇa-paraḥ*; p. 384 *sūtraṃ côpalakṣaṇatayā yojyam*; °*Prabhā* p. 381 *sūtrâṣkarânusāratah*; °*Uddyota* ed. Candorkar, x p. 123.

commentators like Jayaratha, Vidyādhara, Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Appayya. Vaidyanātha, commenting on °*Pradīpa* (I 1), alludes to this tradition and rejects it expressly[1]; and in this view most of Mammaṭa's other commentators agree. Apart from this, the evidence of the text itself goes directly against such a hypothesis. The *kārikās* iv 4-5 are expressly supported in the *vṛtti* by a dictum of Bharata (vi p. 87 ed. Grosset), and thus imply a distinction between the author of the *kārikā* and that of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.[2]. The *kārikā* x 8b, again, says *mālā tu pūrvavat*, implying from the context that the figure *mālā-rūpaka* follows the rule laid down for the figure *mālôpamā*, which, however, is not taught in any of the previous *kārikās*, but explained in the *vṛtti*. This apparently indicates that the *kārikā* and the *vṛtti* form one block which should be attributed to one and the same author[3].

The source of this tradition is probably the unquestioned reverence paid to the sage Bharata, but it may also be due to the fact that Mammaṭa him-

1 °*Prabhā* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 2.

2 Cf Vaidyanātha on i 1; *granthakṛd iti mammaṭabhaṭṭâkhyasya kārikākartur nirdeśaḥ............bharata-saṃhitāyāṃ kāsāṃcit kārikānāṃ darśanāt sa eva granthakṛd iti na yuktam ; caturthe—"kāraṇānvatha kāryāṇi sahakārīṇi"* (iv 4) *ityâdi kārikârthe "tad uktaṃ bharatena" iti bharata-sammati-pradarśanasyâsaṃgatitvâpatteḥ.*

3 To the same effect Vaidyanātha commenting on this passage, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 329: ***etad eva sūtraṃ sūtra-vṛttikṛtor ekatve jñāpakam, mālôpamāyāḥ sūtrâvanuktāyā vṛttâveva kathanāt.*** Also cf other agreeing opinions quoted in Jhalakīkara's comm. ed. B. S. S. 1917, p. 599

self has made a considerable use of Bharata's *kārikās*. Thus Bharata vi 15, 17-21 = Mammaṭa iv 6-11. Mammaṭa, however has also made a similar use of *kārikās* and illustrative verses of many of his predecessors. Thus the *kārikā* in Mammaṭa vii 10 (*karṇâvataṃsâdi-pade*) appears as a *saṃgraha-śloka* in Vāmana's *vṛtti* on II. 2. 19; while the definition of the figure *ākṣepa* in Mammaṭa x 20 is taken from Bhāmaha ii 67a and 68a, or Udbhaṭa ii 2a and 3a as found quoted in Abhinava's *Locana* p. 36. Again, Mammaṭa iv 1 and 3 are clearly paraphrases from the *Dhvanyâloka* ii 1 and 3. Mammaṭa also makes a large use of Rudraṭa's illustrations.

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Our references are to the *pages* of B. S. S. ed. 1917 and in the case of *kārikās* to the text in *Kāvya-pradīpa* (ed. Kāvyamālā 24, 1912) where the *kārkiās* are properly numbered to facilitate reference.

MSS. Aufrecht i 101b, 778b; ii 19b, 193b; iii 22b. *SCC* vii 9, 10 12, 59; *WBod* 1158, 1159; *KBod* 500; *SCB* 1535, 1894, 2485, 2486; *Madras Cat.* 12816-18, 12819 (with Pradīpa and Prabhā); *WRAS* 128 (1)

The commentaries are dicussed and enumerated in next chapter, below.

b. *Śabdavyāpāra-paricaya*

Edition. by M. R. Telang N. S. P. 1916.

MSS. See Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* pp. xvii, cxxxiii; *Oudh Cat.* xi 10 (with comm.)

XVII THE COMMENTATORS ON MAMMATA

(1)

There is hardly any other technical work in Sanskrit which has been so much commented upon as the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and no less than fifty different glosses will be found noticed in the various reports, catalogues and journals relating to Sanskrit MSS. They count as their authors not only independent and noted writers on Poetics like Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, but also men having other literary interests, like the Naiyāyika Jagadīśa and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, the grammarian Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, the Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the Vaiṣṇava Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, as well as the Tāntrika Gokulanātha. Very few of these commentaries have yet been printed. We mention here the more important and better known of these writers, noting their dates when known and supplying whatever information we can gather about them.

1. RĀJĀNAKA RUYYAKA or RUCAKA. His commentary is called °*Saṃketa*. He is identical with Ruyyaka (q. v.), author of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102b, ii 20b: extract in Peterson ii p. 106.

2. MAṆIKYACANDRA. His commentary is also called °*Saṃketa*. It is dated in *saṃvat* 1216 = 1160

A.D.[1] Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina author of Guzerat, who belonged to the Koṭika-gaṇa, Vajra-śākhā, Rāja-gaccha. The concluding verses of his commentary trace his spiritual genealogy to Sīlabhadra, after whom came in succession Bharateśvara, Vairasvāmin (Vera°), Nemicandra and Sāgarendu. Our author states to have been a pupil of Nemicandra, as well as of his successor Sāgarendu, who is identified by Peterson[2] with the Sāgarendu who wrote out in *saṃvat* 1252(=1196 A.D.) at Paṭṭan the first copy of the *Amamasvāmi-carita.*[3] Our Māṇikyacandra seems to be identical with Māṇikyacandra, author of *Pārśvanātha-carita,* which is said to have been completed on the Dewali of *saṃvat* 1276(=1220 A.D.) in Devakūpa (Divbandar) by the sea (v.36). In it the author gives a spiritual genealogy, traced up to Pradyumna Sūri and corresponding exactly to that given in the °*Saṃketa*[4]. Māṇikya also appears to have written a *Nalāyaṇa* or *Kubera-purāṇa.*[5] Māṇikyacandra, mentioned in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as having flourished under Jayasiṃha of Guzerat, seems to be a different person.

MSS : Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a : extract in Peterson iii 320f.

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1 Peterson iii extr. p. 322, where the verse giving the date is incomplete, but it is given in full in Jhalakīkara's introd. to *Kāv.prak.* p. 22.

2 iv p. cxxviii. 3 iii App. p. 98.

4 see extract in Peterson iii App. p. 157-63 ; also vi p. xci. The verse *ṣaḍ-tarkī-lalanā-vilāsa*°, describing his preceptor Nemicandra, occurs in *Pārśvanātha-carita* also, as in his °*Saṃketa.* See extracts in Peterson iii pp. 160 and 321.

5 Peterson iii App. p. 357.

3. NARAHARI, called SARASVATĪTĪRTHA. His commentary is called *Bāla-cittānurañjanī*. He also refers to two works, *Smṛti-darpaṇa* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dīpikā* commentary), written by himself. Aufrecht notes that Narahari is also the author of a commentary on the *Meghadūta*, of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library, and Stein notes (p. 67) a *Kumārsaṃbhava-ṭīkā* by Sarasvatītīrtha. His commentary on Mammaṭa states that he was born in *saṃvat* 1298 = 1242 A.D., in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy to Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as the son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and grandson of Narasiṃha, son of Rāmeśvara. He had a brother named Nārāyaṇa. When he became an ascetic, he took the name of Sarasvatītīrtha and composed his commentary at Benares[1].

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b, 102a (as Sarasvatītīrtha), 779a, ii 19b, 20a ; extract in Peterson i 74 and *IOC* iii pp. 325f.

4. JAYANTA BHAṬṬA. His commentary is called °*Dīpikā* or *Jayantī*. He gives its date as *saṃvat* 1350 = 1294 A.D. He calls himself son of Bharadvāja who was the family-priest (*purohita*) to the chief minister of Śārṅgadeva of Guzerat, the third Vāghelā sovereign who ruled at Paṭṭana during 1277-1297[2]. Jayanta is apparently quoted by Paramānanda Cakravartin, and Ratnakaṇṭha (q.v.), and the latter states that his own commentary was based on the *Jayantī*. Our

1 Peterson i pp. 25f, 74.

2 Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84 pp. 17-18 ; Peterson ii pp. 17,20.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa must be distinguished from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta or Jayantaka, author of the *Kādaṃbarīkathā-sāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, 1888), who is an earlier author quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 142) and who lived probably in the 9th century.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b: extract in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, App. 326.

5. SOMEŚVARA. His commentary is called *Kāvyâdarśa*[1]. He describes himself as the son of Bhaṭṭa Devaka of Bharadvāja-gotra. Jhalakīkara thinks that he was a native of Kanauj from his decided partiality to that country. Peterson[2] and, following him Aufrecht[3], identify him with Someśvara, author of *Kīrti-kaumudī* and *Surathôtsava*, and place him in the first half of the 13th century. But this is doubtful, because this Someśvara is known as son of Kumāra. Our Someśvara cites Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Bhaṭṭa Tauta, and is cited in his turn by a very late commentator Kamalākara.

MSS: Aufrecht 102a, ii 20b, iii 22b; extract in Peterson v. p. 52-3.

6. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA. Nothing is known of him or his commentary, but he is cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (as *prācīna* fol. 7a), by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa, and by Bhīmasena. He is probably to be distinguished from Vācaspati Miśra, author of the *Bhāmatī*, who is probably older than Mammaṭa; for in the list he

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1 The two entries *Kāvyaprakāśa-ṭīkā* and *Kāvyâdarśa* in Aufrecht i 737b should be one, and both refer to this comm.

2 v pp. lxxxiv.

3 i 102a, 737b

gives of his own works at the end of the *Bhāmatī*, he does not refer to any commentary on Mammaṭa. Our Vācaspati is probably the Maithilī legist who wrote *Ācāra-cintāmaṇi* and other works (see Aufrecht i 559-60).

7. ŚRĪDHARA, with the title Sāndhi-vigrahika, cited by Caṇḍīdāsa, and by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa. Śrīdhara's commentary, called °*Viveka*, is entered in Aufrecht i 102a.

8. CAṆḌĪDĀSA. His commentary, called °*Dīpikā*, was written at the instance of his friend Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The India Office MS of his work is written in Bengali character, and he is cited mostly by Oriya, Maithilī and Benares writers (e.g. Govinda in his °*Pradīpa* pp. 24, 36, 202, 274, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha in his °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā*, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa in his °*Prabhā*, and Viśveśvara in his *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*. pp. 125, 166). He is probably identical with Caṇḍīdāsa, the younger brother of the grandfather of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. He is also cited by Viśvanātha, son of Trimaladeva (q. v.), in a Kashmirian MS dated 1602 A.D. Caṇḍīdāsa mentions a *Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha* by himself. He also quotes a work called *Sāhitya-hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's lost *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*.

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b ; extract in *IOC* 491 (p. 326).

9. VIŚVANĀTHA. Author of the commentary °*Darpaṇa*. He is identical with Viśvanātha (q.v.) author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is referred to

in this commentary as his own. First half of the 14th century

MSS: *SCB* 299; extract in Jhalakīkara's introd.

10. BHĀSKARA. Wrote *Sāhitya-dīpikā* commentary. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda (p. 21), Ravi (Peterson iii p. 20), Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura Bhīmasena, and Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii p. 17). Narasiṃha calls him Lāṭa Bhāskara Miśra. He is earlier than the end of the 15th century, being cited by Govinda.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101b,779a, ii 20a; extract in Mitra 1681.

11. PARAMĀNANDA CAKRAVARTIN. His commentary is entitled *Vistārikā*. He refers to Miśra, Dīpikākṛt (Jayanta Bhaṭṭa ?) and Viśvanātha; and he must be later than Vidyānātha, whose *Pratāpa-rudra* is cited by him. He is himself cited by Kamalākara, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can°*), Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, Ānanda and Ratnakaṇṭha. Probably a Naiyayika of Bengal. He mentions his guru Īśāna, and appears to refer in a punning verse[1] to the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. Jhalakīkara thinks that the *cakra-varti-lakṣaṇa*, found in the fourteeen *gādādharī lakṣaṇas*, was formulated by him. Paramānanda, from his citations, cannot be earlier than the second half of the 14th century; and he probably flourished before the 16th century, at the end of which Gadādhara

1 *andhā doṣândhakāreṣu ke vā na syur vipaścitaḥ nâhaṃ tu dṛṣṭi-vikalo dhṛtaś cintāmaṇiḥ sadā.*

flourished. He must be distinguished from Śrī-vidyā Cakravartin, apparently a South Indian writer, who commented on Ruyyaka (q.v.) as well as Mammaṭa, and who is also cited under the common designation of Cakravartin. Paramānanda also wrote a commentary on the *Naiṣadha* (*IOC* vii p.1438).

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b, iii 22b ; extract in Peterson ii pp. 108-9.

12. GOVINDA ṬHAKKURA. His well-known commentary is called °*Pradīpa*.[1] Govinda also wrote an °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*, apparently the same as °*Śloka-dīpikā*[2] in Stein (pp. 60, 269), cited by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. This is supplementary to the larger exegetical work, being a commentary on the illustrative verses of the text. The °*Pradīpa* has been commented on by Vaidyanātha (°*Prabhā*) and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (°*Uddyota*). Govinda was a native of Mithilā, born in the family of Ravikara, eldest son of Keśava and Sonodevī, elder brother of the poet Śrī-harṣa who is not, however, as Peterson supposes, the author of the *Naiṣadha*.[3] In addition to this information about

1 The full name of the commentary is *Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa*, simplified generally as *Kāvya-pradīpa* : so Peterson's speculation on the name (i 27) is idle trifling.

2 The second verse of this work refers to his *Kāvya-pradīpa*.

3 His brother's verse is cited in ch. x (p. 355) as *madbhrātuḥ śrī-harṣasya*, but the *Naiṣadha* is cited by name in the same chapter (p.351) with *iti naiṣadha-darśanāt*. He laments, in one of the concluding verses, the death of this

himself, Govinda tells us that he learnt *kāvya* and *sāhitya* from his elder step-brother Rucikara. His exact date is not known, but Govinda refers to Viśvanātha as *arvācīna*, quoting the latter's criticism of Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, as well as the latter's own definition of the same, without actually naming him or his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. Govinda, therefore, is probably later, but not very much later, than the 14th century. On the other hand, he is earlier the last quarter of the 16th century, being quoted in Prabhākara's *Rasa-pradīpa* which was composed 1583 A.D. Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, who flourished later, but not much later, than 1612 A.D. (having himself quoted Kamalākara), is supposed, on the authority of the family genealogy, to be fifth in descent from Govinda, This will roughly place Govinda towards the end of the 15th century[1].

Editions : (1) In *Pandit* vols. x-xiii by Rāmaśāstrī Bhāgavatācārya (2) with comm. of Vaidyanātha, called, °*Prabhā*, in Kāvyamālā 24, 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912) (3) with °*Uddyota* in Ānandāśrama Series 1911 (4) with °*Uddyota* (ch. i, ii vii, x) by Candorkar, Poona 1889.

MSS : (of °*Pradīpa*) Aufrecht i 102b, 779a ; ii 20a, 193b : iii 22b. *SCC* vii 14, 15, 18 ; *KBod* 502, 503 ; *SCB* 306.

13. •JAYARĀMA NYĀYAPAÑCĀNANA. His commentary is called °*Tilaka* or *Jayarāmī*. The commentary called *Rahasya-dīpikā* by Jayarāma, entered in some catalogues, appears to be an alternative

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brother Śrī-harṣa, in which however he does not mention him, as he could have done, as the poet of the *Naiṣadha*.

1 See introd. to N. S. P. ed of the *Prādīpa*; also the *Pandit* xiii p. 74f.

name. He seems to be identical with the author of the *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā*, the *Padārtha-maṇimālā*, and of commentaries on the *Nyāya-kusumāñjalī* and on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* (Aufrecht i 20a), which works indicate that he was a Naiyāyika. He is described as the pupil of Rāmacandra (or Rāmbhadra) Bhaṭṭâcārya and guru of Janārdana Vyāsa. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana and Bhīmasena, but the only writer who appears to quote him extensively is Viśveśvara (as Nyāyapañcānana) in the his *Alaṃ. kaus.* pp. 11, 23, 106, 127, 161, 162, 172, 263, 327. Jayarāma was certainly later than Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (beginning of the 16th century), on whose *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* he commented, but earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, the date of Bhīmasena.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, 779a, ii 19b, 193b ; *SCC* 305, 2154 (Jayarāmī). Extract in Peterson ii p. 107 and Mitra 1447.

14. ŚRĪVATSALĀÑCHANA[1] and SUBUDDHI MIŚRA. Śrīvatsa's commentary is called *Sārabodhinī*. It is mentioned by Hall[2] and attributed to "Maheśvara, otherwise called Śrīvatsalāñchana.' Maheśvara appears to be another name of Subuddhi Miśra who, Aufrecht notes, wrote a commentary on Vāmana[3] called *Sāhitya-sarvasva*; but Subuddhi also

1 Also called Śrīvatsa-śarman, Śrīvatsa-varman or simply Vatsavarman.

2 introd. *Vāsavadattā* p. 54.

3 Aufrecht's description (*ABod* 208a) of Subuddhimiśra as Subuddhimiśra-maheśvara, as well as Hall's statement, makes one think that the term is not *maheśvara* but *māheśvara*, which is often, as in the cases of Abhinavagupta and Vidyādhara, applied as an appellation of a Śaiva writer. This is

appears to be cited as a commentator on Mammaṭa by Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vadiyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can°*), Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha. The two are probably different persons, as Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha cite both Śrīvatsa and Subuddhi Miśra. Śrīvatsa is also the author of an independent work called *Kāvya-parīkṣā*[1], which deals with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa. This work may not be identical with *Tattva-parīkṣā* by Subuddhi Miśra (which may the name of his commentary on Mammaṭa), cited by Ratnakaṇṭha and entered by Kielhorn in *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 100. Two other works, *Kāvyāmṛta*[2] and *Rāmôdaya-nāṭaka*, are also ascribed to Śrīvatsa. As Śrīvatsa cites Vidyānātha, he cannot be earlier than the 14th century; on the other hand, he is earlier than the 17th century, being quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A.D.) and Jagannātha. It appears also that the *Sārabobhinī* in many places expands or condenses Paramānanda's *Vistārikā.*

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a (both under Vatsavarman and Śrīvatsavarman), 779a, ii 20a, 193b ; *Madras Catalogue* 12827 (extract).

15. PAṆḌITARĀJA. This commentator, cited by Ratnakaṇṭha, is probably identical with Raghunandana Rāya, disciple of the legist Maheśa Ṭhakkura (See Jhā's transl. of *Kāv. prak.* introd. p. ix). He should not be confounded with Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

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thus a surname of both writers, which might have led to their doubtful identification.

1 Aufrecht i 778b, ii 19b.

2 Aufrecht i 103a, ii 20a.

MSS: Stein pp. 60, 269, extract given 1164 (Aufrecht i 19a). Stein's MS of this work goes up to *Ullāsa* ii only and quotes no authorities except the *Miśras* and Pratyabhijñākāras. Jhā's MS appears to have been copied in 1637 A.D.

16. RAVI and RATNAPĀṆI. Ravi is the author of the *Madhumatī* commentary, the last verse of which tells us that the author had a beloved daughter named Madhumatī, after whom the commentary was baptised. He also informs us that he was the son of Gaurī and Manodhara, *alias* Ratnapāṇi, and grandson of Acyuta, who was a minister of Śivasiṃha or Śivasiddha of Mithilā (about the middle of the 15th century, *IOC* iv p. 875f). Ratnapāṇi or Manodhara also wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1], which is cited by his son and on which the latter's commentary itself seems to have been based. The father and the son are cited by Bhīmasena, while Kamalākara and Narasiṃha cite the Madhumatīkāra.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a; *Madras Cat.* 12822-23; *Madras Trm C* 1676; extract in Peterson iii p 332f.

17. MAHEŚVARA, with the title Nyāyâlaṃkāra. His commentary is called ⁰*Ādarśa*, or ⁰*Bhāvârtha-cintāmaṇi*. He is a Bengal writer, who also composed a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga*. As he is cited by Vaidyanātha he should be placed before the middle of the 17th century, and it is probable that he flourished about the commencement of that century.

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1 See Peterson iii App. p. 332 where the extract is given (esp. *śl.* 5). A MS of this work, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa* or *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* is noticed in Mitra 3169, and the author's name given as Manodhara.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, 779a, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b; *SCC* vii 58.
Edition: ed. by Jīvānanda, Calcutta 1876.

18. KAMALĀKARA BHAṬṬA. He is better known as a legist, and wrote a large number of works on Smṛti and Mīmāṃsā. He was a Mahratta Brahmin of Benares, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Umā, younger brother of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and great-grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa[1]. Ananta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote the *Rāma-kalpadruma* at the request of Garibadāsa, minister of Rājā Rājasiṃha, was his son. Kamalākara's date is known from the fact that he dates his *Nirṇaya-sindhu* in 1612 A.D. He also wrote a poem called *Rāma-kautuka* in 4 cantos.

Edition: ed. by Pāpā Śāstrī, Benares 1866.
MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, 778b; ii 19b, 193b.

19. RĀJĀNAKA ĀNANDA. His commentary is called °*Nidarśana* or *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana*[2]. Hall (*Vāsavadattā* p. 16) is mistaken in attributing this work to Śitikaṇṭha and taking it as dedicated to

1 For Kamalākara's place in the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, see the pedigree given in V. N. Mandlik's ed. of *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* p. lxxvi. See also Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 50-1. He is also the author of numerous works on Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti, some of which he mentions at the end of his comm. (see Aufrecht i 80). His descendants still live in Benares.

2 The colophon, as quoted by Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 69 fn), says: *iti śrīmad-rājanakānvaya-tilakena rājānakānanda-ken viracitaṃ kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśanam.* But elsewhere in the Jammu MS of Stein, it says: *iti śrī-kāvya-darśane śitikaṇṭha-vibodhane kāvyoddeśa-darśanaṃ prathamam*, col. to ch. i). It seems that the real name of the comm. is °*Nidarśana*, as

Ānanda. The colophon, as well as the first verse[1], of this commentary accounts probably for Hall's mistake; but the author himself explains that the commentary is so named from the fact that an attempt is made in it to interpret Mammaṭa's text as having, besides its *ālaṃkārika* meaning, a mystical sense relating to Śitikaṇṭha or Śiva. Mammaṭa himself might have been a Kashmirian Śaiva; but this leaves no doubt that Ānanda was one, although it is doubtful whether the text lends itself to such an interpretation. The date is given in the colophon as 1665 A.D.; although Hall thinks that this is the date in which the MS of the work was copied. Stein remarks: "Ānanda, who composed his commentary in 1665 A.D. is still well remembered in the tradition of Kashmirian Paṇḍits as the contemporary and friend of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha[2]", one of whose known dates is 1648 A.D. Ānanda, therefore, may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Ānanda also appears to have written a commentary on the *Naiṣadha.*

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a. Extract in Peterson i 74, also in Stein p. xxvii.

20. RĀJĀNAKA RATNAKAṆṬHA. His commentary is called *Sāra-samuccaya* which, as its

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Peterson thinks, *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* being an alternative or descriptive name arising from the second meaning relating to Śitikaṇṭha which the commentary finds in the text.

1 *praṇamya śāradāṃ kāvya-prakāśo bodha-siddhaye* / *padārtha-viv ti-dvārā śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate.* Jhalakīkara reads *sva-śiṣyebhyaḥ pradarśyate*, but remarks *atra śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate iti pāṭho vivaraṇa-kārair aṅgīkṛtaḥ.*

2 *Jammu Cat.* p. xxvii fn.

title indicates and the author confesses, was composed by a compilation from "the principal commentaries of Jayanta and others." He cites, therefore, some of the well-known commentaries[1] before his time, among which we find the *Sāhitya-dīpikā* (of Bhāskara), *Sārabodhinī* (of Śrīvatsa), the commentaries of Subuddhi Miśra and Paṇḍitarāja, the *Vistārikā* (of Paramānanda), the *Pradīpa* (of Govinda?), and two other works *Tattva-parīkṣā* and *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*. This is the same Ratnakaṇṭha who copied the *codex archetypus* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, mentioned by Stein (introd. p. viif) and also transcribed MSS of the °*Saṃketa* of Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantra-pañcāśikā* in 1673 A.D. He is identical with Ratnakaṇṭha, who was the son of Śaṅkarakaṇṭha and grandson of Ananta-kavi of the Dhaumyāyana race and who wrote a *Stuti-kusumāñjalī-ṭīkā* (called *Śiṣya-hitā*) in 1681 A.D., and a *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya-kāvya-ṭīkā* in 1672 A.D. (Aufrecht i 489b; Stein, *loc. cit*). These dates range from 1648 to 1681 A.D., during which apparently the literary activity of Ratnakaṇṭha falls.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 193b ; extract in Peterson ii p. 129 (also ii 16f).

21. NARASIMHA ṬHAKKURA. His commentary is called *Narasiṃha-manīṣā*. He belonged to the same family as Govinda Ṭhakkura and was fifth in descent from him. The latest writer he cites seems to be the Madhumatī-kāra and Kamalākara, and he is cited in his turn by Bhīmasena

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1 For a list of authors cited by him, see Peterson ii p. 17f.

with the title *nyāya-vidyā-vāgīśa.*

MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b.

22. VAIDYANĀTHA TATSAT. He wrote two commentaries (1) the °*Prabhā* on the °*Pradīpa* of Govinda and the (2) °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā* on the illustrative verses of the *Kāvya-prakāśa.* The date of the latter work is given in the concluding verse as *saṃvat* 1740 = 1684 A.D. He is probably different from Vaidyanātha, the Maithilī grammarian, son of Mahādeva and Veṇī, and pupil of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa; for our Vaidyanātha is known as the son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa of the Tatsat family, and is referred to by Nāgoji himself. Our Vaidyanātha cites Caṇḍīdāsa, Subuddhi Miśra, the Dīpikākṛt (Govinda's *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*), Cakravartin and Maheśa, and is cited by Bhīmasena. He may not be the same as Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa who wrote commentaries on the *Candrâloka* (see under Jayadeva below).

Edition: °*Prabhā*, ed. with *Pradīpa* in Kāvyamālā 24, 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912).

MSS: *Prabhā.* Aufrecht i 102a and b, 779a ;ii 20a. *KBod* 504. *Udāharaṇa-candrikā.* Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a, 193b. extract in Peterson ii p. 108, in *SCC* vii 54, in *IOC* 1151.

23. BHĪMASENA DĪKSITA. His commentary is called *Sudhā-sāgara* or *Sudhôdadhi*[1]. It is dated in *saṃvat* 1779 = 1723 A.D.[2] He was a Kanauj Brahmin and describes himself as the son of Śivānanda and grandson of Muralīdhara; his genealogy being

1 The form *Sukhôdadhi* given in Peterson's extract (i p. 94) should be *Sudhôdadhi.*

2 Peterson i p. 94.

given thus: Gaṅgādāsa→Vīreśvara→Muralīdhara→Śivānanda→Bhīmasena. He is also the author of two independent works, called *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra* and *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*[1], the latter apparently directed against Appayya's work of the same name, and both referred to in his commentary on Mammaṭa. The last work was composed at Jodhpur while Ajitasiṃha (1680-1725 A.D.) was still reigning. He also wrote a commentary on *Ratnāvalī*[2]. He cites a large number of commentators, such as Caṇḍīdāsa, Bhāskara, Acyuta, Ratnapāṇi, Ravi, Jayarāma Pañcānana, Vācasapati Miśra, Cakravartin, Ruci Miśra, Murāri Miśra, Pakṣadhara Upādhyāya, Devanātha Tarkapañcānana, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Maheśa or Maheśvara, and Vaidyanātha.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a; ii 20a; extract in Peterson i p. 94 and in Jhalakīkara's ed. of *Kāv. prak.*

24. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, known simply as Vidyābhūṣaṇa. His work, dignified with the name of "a *vṛtti* on Bharata's *sūtra*" (so he calls Mammaṭa's *kārikās*[3]), is called the *Sāhitya-kaumudī*, on which he himself writes a *ṭippaṇa*, called *Kṛṣṇānandinī*. A work called *Kāvyakustubha* in 9 *prabhās* is noticed and attributed to one Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Stein pp. 59, 268, who appears to be a Vaiṣṇava and probably the same as our author (see pref. to Kāvyamāla ed. of the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* and Aufrecht i 101a,

1 The work is also called *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti*, a MS of which is noticed in Mitra 4084 (Aufrecht ii 23a).

2 Aufrecht i 492.

3 See above pp. 164-65.

ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b). The work deals with (1) *kāvya-phalādi* (2) *śabdārtha-vṛtti* (3) *rasa* (4) *rīti* (5) *doṣa* (6) *dhvani-bheda* (7) *madhyama-kāvya* (8) *alaṃkāras*. He was a pupil of Dāmodara-dāsa (concluding verse and its commentary) and Gopāladāsa (*alias* Rasikânanda, commentary on *śl.* 1), and the *guru* of Uddhavdāsa. He was a Vaiṣṇava and follower of Caitanya, and wrote various *vaiṣṇava* works. According to a tradition in Bengal, to which place he belonged, he was a contemporary of Jayasiṃha of Jayapur, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that his commentary on the *Utkalikā-vallarī* was written in 1765 A.D. A pun in the first verse of his *Sāhitya-kaumudī* refers, as he himself explains in the *ṭippaṇa*, to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Utkala or Orissa.

Edition : ed. with *Kṛṣṇânandinī* in Kāvyamālā 63, 1897.

MSS : Aufrecht ii 19b, 193b. The *Sāhitya kaumudī* (in Oppert 1058), as well as *Bharata-sūtra-vṛtti* in Peterson ii 10, is the same work as ours.

25 NĀGOJI or NĀGEŚA BHAṬṬA. He wrote two commentaries called *Laghu-* and *Bṛhat-* °*Uddyota*. Also author of a °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*pradīpa* on the illustrations in the text (Stein pp. xxvii, 268). He belongs to the beginning of the 18th century. Also wrote commentary on Jagannātha (q. v.) and other works.

MSS : °*Uddyota*. Aufrecht i 101a (anon.), 102b, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b ; *SCC* vii 16, 17, 55 (extract). *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*. Aufrecht ii 19b (extract in Stein pp. 268-9).

Edition. °*Uddyota* ed. with °*Pradīpa* in Ānandâśrama Series 1911 : ed. with text and °*Pradīpa* (ch. i, ii, vii and x by Candorkar, Poona 1889, 1915.

(2)

We give below the names of the some of the less known commentators on Mammaṭa (alphabetically):

(1) Kalādhara. Wrote °*Kārikāvali*, which appears to be a synopsis of the *kārikās*. *KBod* 501.

(2) Kalyāṇa Upādhyāya. Name of comm. unknown, mentioned by Jhā in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* p. ix.

(3) Kṛṣṇa Dvivedin. Comm. *Madhurarasā*. Aufrecht i 101b.

(4) Kṛṣṇa Śarman. *Rasaprakāśa*. HPS iii no. 58 (extract; ends with the 5th chapter).

(5) Kṛṣṇamitrācārya, son of Rāmanātha and grandson of Devīdatta: a Naiyāyika, for whose works see Aufrecht i 121b. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i 101b.

(6) Gadādhara Cakravartin Bhaṭṭācārya. °*Ṭīkā*. Mitra 1527; *SCC* vii 13.

(7) Guṇaratna Gaṇi. Name of comm. unknown. Aufrecht iii 22b.

(8) Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, the Maithilī Smārta. °*Ṭīkā*, mentioned in Jhā *op. cit.* p. ix. (see chapter on Minor Writers below).

(9) Gopāla, known as Bhaṭṭa Gopāla or Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla Sūri. Comm. *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi*. Aufrecht i 102a, ii 19b; *Madras Trm A* 1282; *Madras Cat.* 12828 (extract). Cited several times in *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana (ed. Benares, pp. 4, 8, 33 etc.). He is cited also by Kumārasvāmin (p. 93), hence earlier than the 15th century. K. P. Trivedi, however, thinks that this Bhaṭṭa Gopāla of Kumārasvāmin is the same as wrote the *Rasika-rañjanī* comm. on *Rasamañjarī* (q. v.). See above p. 101.

(10) Gopīnātha. Comm. *Sumano-manoharā*. Aufrecht i 101b. He also wrote a comm. on Viśvanātha (q.v.). End of the 17th century.

(11) Jagadīśa Tarkâlaṃkāra Bhaṭṭâcārya, the Bengal Naiyāyika. Comm. °*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i 101b (Mitra 1651). He was a pupil of Bhavānanda and lived at Navadvīpa at the beginning of the 17th century.

(12) Janārdana Vyāsa, pupil of Ananta. Comm. °*Śloka-dīpikā*. Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b. He also wrote commentaries on the *Raghu* and *Vṛtta-ratnâkara*.

(13) Tiruveṅkaṭa, son of Cinnatimma and grandson of Tirumala-guru. *Madras Trm. A* 318. A South Indian writer who quotes Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary.

(14) Devanātha Tarkapañcānana. Comm. *Kāvya-kaumudī*. Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b. Cited by Kamalākara and Bhīmasena. Bharata Mallika on Bhaṭṭi x 73 quotes one Devanātha. See Mitra 1447 where mention is made of an *Ekaṣaṣṭyālaṃkāra-prakāśa* which quotes Devanātha as one of its sources.

(15) Narasiṃha Sūri, son of Timmaji and grandson of Raṅgaprabhu. Comm. *Ṛju-vṛtti*. Aufrecht ii 19b; *Madras Trm.* B 381.

(16) Nāgarāja Keśava. Comm. *Padav tti*. Aufrecht i 101b.

(17) Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, son of Raṅganātha Dīkṣita and brother of Bālakṛṣṇa. Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Vikramôrvaśī* was finished in 1656 A.D. Hence the date of our author is the end of the 17th century. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i 101b (see also 292a: *AFl* p. 155).

(18) Bhānucandra. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i 101b. Also wrote a commentary on the *Daśakumāra*.

(19) Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithilā and pupil of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkur. Comm. *Līlā*. Aufrecht ii 20a; *Madras Cat.* 12824-25 (extract). Also wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* (*IOC* 1428). According to the final verse in this commen-

tary the author lived in the reign of Shāh Jahān and composed his commentary at Patna in *śaka* 1571 = 1649 A.D.

(20) Madhumatigaṇeśa. Comm. *Kāvya-darpaṇa.* Aufrecht i 102a.

(21) Yajñeśvara. Comm. °*Vyākhyā.* *Madras Cat.* 12821 (extract).

(22) Raghudeva. Comm. °*Kārikārtha-prakāśikā.* Aufrecht ii 20a.

(23) Ratneśvara. Name of Comm. unknown, but referred to by himself in his comm. on Bhoja (cf *ABod* 209a).

(24) Rāghava. Wrote an *Avacūri ṭippaṇa*, mentioned in Jhalakīkara p. 36.

(25) Rājānanda. Comm. without a name. *Madras Cat.* 12820 (extract); cf Aufrecht ii 20a.

(26) Rāmacandra. Wrote a *Kāvyaprakāśa-sāra*, which is apparently a summary exposition of the substance of the text. Aufrecht i 102b.

(27) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, a Bengal commentator who wrote the comm. °*Rahasya-prakāśa.* Aufrecht i 102a. His commentary on Bhavadeva's *Saṃskāra-paddhati* was composed in 1623 A.D. (see Aufrecht i 516a).

(28) Rāmakṛṣṇa. Comm. *Bhāvārtha* or *Kavi-nandinī* (or °*nandikā*). Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a: also ii 16b.

(29) Vijayānanda. Wrote a °*Ṭīkā.* *Deccan Coll. Cat.* p. 44. The age of the MS is given as 1683 A.D.

(30) Vidyā Cakravartin. Comm. *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī*, which refers to comm. by himself on Ruyyaka (q.v.) Aufrecht i 102a; *Madras Cat.* 12826-28 (extract).

(31) Vidyāsāgara, apparently the title of some commentator, cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. One Vidyāsāgara wrote a *Kalā-dīpikā-ṭīkā* on Bhaṭṭi, and is cited by Bharata-Mallika (on x 73), and by Rāmanātha on *Amara-koṣa.*

(32) Veṅkaṭācala Sūri. Comm. *Subodhinī*. Aufrecht i 102a.

(33) Śivanārāyaṇa Dāsa Sarasvatīkaṇṭhâbharaṇa, son of Durgādāsa. Comm. °*Dīpikā*. Weber i no. 819; Aufrecht i 102a. He wrote at the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 649b.

Besides these, there are numerous commentaries, either anonymous or without the name of the author, some which are entered in Aufrecht i 101b, 778b, ii 20a, 193b. A work called *Kāvyâmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* or *Kāvyparakāśa-khaṇḍana*, apparently an adverse critique on Mammaṭa, is entered in Mitra 2674.

XVIII RUYYAKA

(1)

Ruyyaka, who also bore the name of Rucaka[1] and had the Kashmirian title of Rājānaka prefixed to his name, was the son of Rājānaka Tilaka[2] who, Jayaratha informs us (pp. 115, 124, 205), wrote a commentary or critique on Udbhaṭa called *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra*.

The *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, by which Ruyyaka is chiefly known, consists of two parts, viz., *sūtra* and *vṛtti* ; but the question has been raised whether

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1 *rājānaka-rucakâparanāmno'laṃkārasarvasva-kṛtaḥ* (*kṛtiḥ*) col. to Pischel's ed. of *Sahṛdyalīlā* ; cf ed. of the same in Kāvyamālā pt. v, reading of MS *kha*. This name is given in some of the MSS of his larger work (e. g. col. to the Kāvyamālā and Trivandrum eds. of the text ; in Mitra ix. p. 117), as well as by Kumārasvāmin (pp. 393, 396, 425, 448), Appayya-Dīkṣita (*Citr.mīm.* p. 72.), Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (pp. 161, 179, 193), Vidyā Cakravartin, one of Ruyyaka's commetators (*Madras Cat.* p. 8609). Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* no. 247, p. xvi) and Peterson (ii p. 13f) also found this name in connexion with Ruyyaka's *Saṃketa* comm. on Mammaṭa. That the form Ruyyaka is the more anthentic is testified to by his pupil Maṅkhaka (*Śrīkantha-c.* xxv 30 : see below).

2 *rājānaka-tilakâtmaja°* col. to Pischel's ed. of the *Sahṛdaya-līlā.* Ruyyaka's father was thus, like himself, a writer on poetics, and a follower of Udbhaṭa.

the authorship of the two parts should be attributed to the same writer. The Kāvyamālā edition of the text, published under the above title, admits Ruyyaka's authorship of both the *sūtra* and the *vṛtti*, a view which is accepted by his earliest commentator Jayaratha, who refers to the author as *granthakṛt* with respect to both the *sūtra* and *vṛtti* portions.[1] The invocatory verse to the *vṛtti* in this edition reads in the second line

nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇāṃ vṛttyā tātparyam ucyate,

so that the *sūtra* is avowedly referred to as his own by the *vṛttikāra.*[2] Some doubt, however, has been thrown on this view by the discovery of a different reading of this line in some of the South Indian MSS, which introduce a grave variant in the phrase *nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām* by changing it into *gurvalaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām.* There is also, at the end of the *vṛtti* in these MSS, an additional verse[3], which gives the name of the *vṛtti* (and not of the text which is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra*) as *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, and the name of the author of the *vṛtti* as Maṅkhuka or Maṅkhaka, who is described as a *sāndhi-vigrahika* to the king of Kashmir. This forms the reading of the text, (based on three MSS,) which is published in the Trivandrum Series, as well as of MSS

1 pp. 19, 20, 55, 57, 67, 72, 83, 87 etc.

2 Same reading in *ABod* 210a, where Ruppaka is a mistake or a variant (Bühler *op. cit.* p. 68) for Ruyyaka; Mitra ix p. 117.

3 *iti maṅkhuko vitene kāśmīra-kṣitipa-sāndhivigrahikaḥ | sukavi-mukhālaṃkāraṃ tad idam alaṃkārasarvasvam.*

noticed by Burnell[1] Winternitz[2] and in the *Madras Catalogue*[3]. This view is supported by Samudrabandha, a South Indian commentator, who flourished in the end of 13th century and whose text is printed in the Trivandrum edition; for the *vṛtti*, the subject of his commentary, is known to him by the name of *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and its author as Maṅkhaka, while the original work of Ruyyaka is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra*.

We are thus confronted with two distinct traditions, embodied in these two different views and prevailing in the North and in the South of India respectively, with regard to the authorship of the *vṛtti*, there being no dispute as to Ruyyaka's authorship of the *sūtra*-text itself. So far as we can judge, the North Indian tradition, obtaining in Kashmir, to which place both Ruyyaka and Maṅkhaka belonged, seems to be the authentic one; for the South Indian tradition is not uniform in this respect and does not always distinguish between the author of the *sūtra* and the *vṛtti* respectively. Thus Appayya Dīkṣita, a noted South Indian writer, refers[4] to Ruyyaka or Rucaka as the author of the work as a whole, which is called the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, attributing to him both the *sūtra* and the

1 *Tanjore Cat.* p. 54a.

2 *Cat. of South Ind. MSS in the RAS.* p. 208; cf Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283f.

3 pp. 8606-7. The question is discussed at some length in Haricānd Śāstrī *op. cit* p. 105f.

4 *Citr. mīm.* p. 14, 15, 54, 72, 84, 90, 94, 98; *Kuvalay.* p. 41, 89, 92, 96, 184.

vṛtti ; and Appayya is in agreement, in this respect, with Mallinātha[1], Kumārasvāmin[2], and Jagannātha[3]. On the other hand, the testimony of Jayaratha, himself a Kashmirian, cannot be very well superseded by what the later commentator Samudrabandha says in conformity to a tradition which itself is not unanimous. It is also significant that while Ruyyaka (and even Jayaratha) is quoted and discussed extensively by later writers on Poetics, Maṅkhaka is not cited as a writer on the subject except once by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 10).

(2)

This tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration with Ruyyaka would not perhaps have arisen, had not Maṅkhaka, as the tradition says, been in fact a pupil of Ruyyaka. Rājānaka Maṅkha or Maṅkhaka, son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha, is well known as the Kashmirian author of *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (ed. Kāvyamālā 3) which was written, according to

1 *Taralā* pp. 21, 186, 187, 232, 237, 249, 261, 262, 266, 331, 332.

2 *Ratnāpaṇa* pp. 393(=*Alam. sar. vṛtti* p. 58), 425 (=*ibid*, p. 133), 448 (=*ibid*, p. 144); p. 341 (=*ibid*, *sūtra* p. 20) p. 452=(*ibid*, p. 156).

3 *Rasagaṅgādhara*, numerous references but see pp. 163 and 200, where both the *sūtra* and *vṛtti* are quoted under the citation *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. See also Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* p. 161 (=*Alaṃ. sarv. vṛtti* p. 64), p. 179 (=*ibid*, p. 75), p. 193 (=*ibid*, p. 127).

Bühler[1], between 1135 and 1145 A.D. Maṅkhaka's brother Alaṃkāra (or Laṅkaka, xxv 15, 37f) was a minister (v 62, xxv 43, 61) under Sussala and Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1129-1150 A. D.), and another brother Śṛṅgāra held a high office (*bṛhat-tantra-pati*) under Sussala, whom he assisted in his war against Harṣadeva. Maṅkhaka tells us how after composing his poem he submitted it, at the house of his brother Alaṃkāra, to an assembly of learned scholars and officials, among whom he describes Ruyyaka as his own preceptor (xxv 30, 135). This also explains how Ruyyaka's own work contains five verses from Maṅkhaka's poem[2] cited as illustrations; for it is not unlikely that the *guru* should in this way quote his worthy disciple. As the latest date of Maṅkhaka's poem is given as 1145 A. D., we may presume that Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, which quotes it, was composed a little later; and it will not be wrong if we fix Ruyyaka's literary career in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[3].

(3)

The works of Ruyyaka are numerous, of which three only have been printed :

1 *op. cit.* p. 50f ; extract App. pp. cix f. See also *Rāja-taraṅg*ᵘ viii.

2 See Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283 for these verses.

3 Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 283) points out that Ruyyaka (p. 93) quotes the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv 441, which work was not completed till about 1150 A. D. in the reign of Jaya-

(1) *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa*, a commentary on Mammaṭa's text, referred to as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 102, and by Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii pp. 17, 19 as *Bṛhat-saṃketa*). For MSS, see above p. 169.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī*, referred to by himself at p. 15.

(3) *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā*, referred to by himself at p 61, also by Jayaratha p. 126. It is cited without the author's name in Vidyānātha p. 11 (cf *ABod* 210a). Burnell's anonymous metrical *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 58a), with *vṛtti* in eight *prakaraṇas*, is probably this work.

(4) *Alaṃkārānusāriṇī*, cited by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's (p.p. 36, 57, 58 and 60). This work is supposed by Peterson[1], and following him by Aufrecht[2] and Jacobi[3], to be a commentary on Jalhaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. As Jayaratha's citations indicate, it discussed incidentally some of the poetic figures, but there is nothing in these citations to show that it was in fact a commentary on Jalhaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. The poet Jalhaṇa is described in Maṅkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (xxv 75); and Somapāla, king of Rājapurī (near Kashmir), whose life Jalhaṇa appears to have recorded, is known

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siṃha. This verse, however. occurs as an anonymous quotation in Abhinava's Comm. on Bharata (ch. vi).

1 ii p. 17; introd. to *Subhāṣ°*. p. 106. *Actes du 6me Congrès* p. 364. It is so described by Ratnakaṇṭha.

2 *Cat. Cat.* i 32b.

3 *ZDMG* lxii 291: cf Haricānd Śāstrī *op. cit.* pp. 105-106.

from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (viii 621f) to have made war against the Kashmirian Sussala. It is clear that this poet, who must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century, should be distinguished from Bhagadatta Jalhaṇadeva, the compiler of the *Sūkti-muktāvali*, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, but to whom Aufrecht (i 203a) wrongly attributes the *Somapāla-vilāsa* itself.

(5) A commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka*, referred to by Jayaratha as *Vyaktiviveka-vicāra* (p. 13). This has been identified with the anonymous commentary published with Mahimabhaṭṭa's work in the Trivandrum Series; for, although the author's name does not appear in the published text of that commentary, which is called simply °*Vyākhyāna*, the anonymous commentator refers in it to his other works, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 32) and *Harṣacarita-vārttika* (p. 44, 50), which we know to be two works of Ruyyaka referred to by himself in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and mentioned by Jayaratha. He refers in this work also to the *Candrikā* (on the *Dhvanyāloka*), *Kāvya-kautuka*, *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* (pp. 1, 13), and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (pp. 16, 32, 36, 44).

(6) *Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā* referred to as his own in the above commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa. (p. 32).

(7) *Harṣacarita-vārttika* referred to as his own in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 61 and in *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* p. 44.

(8) *Sahṛdaya-līlā*, edited in the Kāvyamālā, as well as by Pischel.

(9) *Alaṃkāra-vārttika*, cited as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 71.

(10) *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava* cited in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 19.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUYYAKA

ALAKA (OR ALAṬA ?)

This commentator is referred to by Ratnakaṇṭha in his own commentary on Mammaṭa[1], the name given being Rājānaka Alaka. We have seen that the identification of Mammaṭa's continuator Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa with this commentator is open to doubt[2], and nothing more can be said on the subject until his commentary is recovered.

JAYARATHA

His commentary is called *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī*. He informs us that his father's name was Śṛṅgāra and his parton was king Rājarāja. From his commentary °*Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka*, we learn that the full name of his father was Śṛṅgāraratha, who had two sons, named Jayaratha and Jayadratha[3].

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1 Peterson ii p. 17 and f.

2 See above p. 164.

3 The Kashmirian MSS of the *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī* examined by Bühler vacillate between these two names as the name of our author ; and Peterson's MS of Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sāra-samuccaya* reads Jayadratha (ii p. 17), which is accepted by Aufrecht, although the published texts of the

He also tells us that he was a pupil of Śaṅkhadhara and Śiva. Jayaratha's pedigree is given at some length in his °*Viveka*, and we learn that his great-grandfather's brother was Śivaratha[1], who was a minister of king Ucchala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). As four generations intervene between the minister of Ucchala and Jayaratha, Bühler thinks that the latter lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Jacobi supports this conclusion and attempts to arrive at a greater precision by identifying Jayaratha's (and his father's) patron king Rājarāja with Rājadeva who is mentioned by Jonarāja in *2 Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v 79-91, and who lived in 1203-1226 A.D.[2]

The citations in Jayaratha are numerous, and include the names of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana), the Vakrôkti-jīvita-kāra, Abhinavagupta, the Vyaktiviveka-kāra, Bhoja and Mammaṭa. Besides citing his own author's other works and Rājānaka Tilaka's work on Udbhaṭa, Jayaratha also

°*Vimarśinī*, as well as the °*Viveka*, have Jayaratha, which Bühler himself considers (*op. cit.* p. 68) to be the correct name of the author of the two commentaries, the other being that of his brother.

1 v. 22; see the extract' given in Bühler *op. cit.* App. pp. cli f. This Śivaratha is mentioned in *Rāja-taraṅg°* viii 111.

2 Jacob (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 283) came to the conclusion that Jayaratha must be placed later than the end of the 12th century, for he quotes from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, a poem dealing with Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi who fell in 1193 A. D. (cf. Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 62).

mentions two other works on Alaṃkāra unknown to us, viz. *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* (pp. 35, 83, 173) and *Alaṃkāra-sāra* (pp. 171, 172, 184). The *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* is also cited by Jagannātha (pp. 239, 365); while a work bearing the name *Alaṃkāra-sāra* is mentioned in Kielhorn's list[1], and in Peterson iii App. p. 393; but this is probably a later work attributed to Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa who also wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (q. v.) and was thus later than the end of the 16th century[2]. The °*Vimarśinī* is, in its turn, cited extensively by Jagannātha, chiefly because Appayya, against whom Jagannātha's attacks are primarily directed, follows Ruyyaka and Jayaratha pretty slavishly.

Jayaratha appears also to have written another work on Poetics called *Alaṃkārōdāharaṇa*, in the concluding verse of which he refers to his °*Vimarśinī*. It appears from the resumé of the work given in Mitra 2442 that it was chiefly meant to adduce illustrations to Ruyyaka's text, which the limited scope of his °*Vimarśinī* did not allow him to do properly.

SAMUDRABANDHA

Samudrabandha flourished, as he himself tells us, in the time of Ravivarman, *alias* Saṃgrāmadhīra, king of Kolamba in the Kerala country (Travancore),

1 Kielhorn's List 18; see also Aufrecht i 32b.

2 But see Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 765, *contra* Jacobi in *ZDMG* xlii 293.

and there are numerous illustrative verses in the commentary itself, which sing the praise of this king[1]. The editor of this commentary in the Trivandrum Series tells us that this king, who was probably an ancestor of the Maharaja of Travancore, was born in 1265 A. D., so that Samudrabandha may be taken to have flourished towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

The citations from earlier authors are not so numerous in Samudrabandha, but he shows his familiarity with Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the Vakrôktijīvita-kāra, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mammaṭa. He also cites Udbhaṭa's *vivṛti*, presumably on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyálaṃkāra*.

VIDYĀ CAKRAVARTIN

A commentary, called °*Saṃjīvanī*, on Ruyyaka (also variously styled *Alaṃkāra-saṃjīvanī* or °*Sarvasva-saṃjīvanī*) is cited by Mallinātha[2] and Kumārasvāmin[3]. Appayya[4] and Viśveśvara[5] apparently refer to the author of this commentary by citing Cakra-

1 e. g. pp. 48, 58, 76, 133, 149 (*kolambādhipati*) etc.

2 pp. 31, 57, 221, 237, 324.

3 pp. 54 (Cakravartin, as commentator on *Alam. sarvasva*), 319, 377, 383 (°*Saṃjīvanī* as a comm. on *Alam. sarv.*) 387, 393, 398, 435, 449-50, 465.

4 *Citr. mīm.* p. 7.

5 *Alaṃ. kaust.* p. 11.

vartin; for the two verses[1], thus cited by them, are attributed to this commentator by Kumārasvāmin, whose other references show that Cakravartin wrote a °*Saṃjīvanī* commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva.* This Cakravartin, who is to be distinguished from Paramānanda Cakravartin, appears to be identical with Śrī-vidyā Cakravartin (which was probably his full name), two MSS of whose commentary on Ruyyaka, called °*Saṃjīvanī*, are noticed in the *Madras Catalogue*[2]. This commentary refers to and is referred to by the same author's *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī Bṛhatī Ṭīkā* on Mammaṭa[3], and both the commentaries are mentioned together at the close of the former work thus:

kāvyaprakāśe'laṃkārasarvasve ca vipaścitām
atyādaro jagatyasmin, vyākhyātam ubhayaṃ tataḥ,

which indicates the popularity of the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in later times. Vidyā Cakravartin calls his author Rucaka and refers to him as *sāndhivigrahika.* He appears to be a South Indian writer, belonging to the Saṃpradāya sect. The reference by Mallinātha should place him chronologically earlier than the end of the 14th century.

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1 as cited above = *Ratnāpaṇa* p. 378. See other references to this author by Kumāra-svāmin given in p. 200 above, fn 3.

2 no. 12799-12800, pp. 8609-10. Jacobi wrongly conjectured Alaka to be the author of this °*Saṃjīvanī* (*ZDMG* lxii p. 292).

3 *ibid*, no. 12826-28, p. 8627; Burnell 55a. See above p. 188.

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XIX HEMACANDRA AND THE VAGBHATAS

(1)

The versatile and voluminous Jaina writer Hemacandra directed his many-sided activity to the field of Sanskrit Poetics as well, and wrote a *Kāvyânuśāsana* (with *vṛtti*) and its commentary, called *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*, basing it chiefly on Mammaṭa's work, but appropriating his materials from various sources[1]. While as a textbook it hardly supersedes the *Kāvya-prakāśā*, it is, like most of Hemacandra's other productions, more or less an industrious compilation, displaying its author's encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an original contribution to the subject.

1 He appropriates, for instance, long passages, without acknowledgment, from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the Vakrôktijīvita-kāra, Mammaṭa and others. The passage in the commentary from p. 57 to p. 66 is copied almost *verbatim* from Abhinava on Bharata ch vi, with only a general acknowledgment at conclusion *iti śrīmān abhinavaguptâcāryaḥ, etan matam evâsmābhir upajīvitaṃ veditavyam* (p. 66). In the *vṛtti*, again, at p. 83, the remarks on the *sthāyi-bhāva* (pp. 83-84) are copied from the same source. His extensive appropriation from Rājaśekhara has been already alluded to see p. 125f above. At p. 316 he calls himself a follower of Bharata's views (*bharata-matânusārī*). His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiari sm.

About Hemacandra and his time, we know perhaps more than we do with regard to other writers on Poetics, and the biographical and other details will be found collected together in Bühler's erudite little pamphlet on this author[1]. Hemacandra was born at Dhunduka (in Ahmedabad) on the full noon night of the month of Kārttika in the *saṃvat* year 1145 = 1088-89 A.D., of humble parents, named Caciga and Pahini. He was originally named Cāṅgadeva. He was consecrated as a Jaina monk in *saṃvat* 1154 = 1098 A.D., taking the name of Somānanda. He was a pupil of Devacandra of Vajra-śākhā, author of the *Sthānaka-vṛtti* and the *Śāntinātha-carita*. He became a *sūri* or *ācārya* in *saṃvat* 1166 = 1110 A.D., changing his name, again, into Hemacandra. He spent the greater part of his life, as the acknowledged head of the Jaina community at Aṇahilla-pattana, under the patronage of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla of Guzerat, dying shortly before the latter in *saṃvat* 1229 = 1173 A.D. He wrote most of his works at the request of his patrons, of whom he converted Kumārapāla into Jainism in *saṃvat* 1216 = 1160 A.D.

(2)

There are two Vāgbhaṭas in Sanskrit Poetics who must be distinguished from each other, viz. Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (here

1 *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemacandra*, Wien 1889 ; Jacobi in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, vi 591.

cited as Vāgbhaṭa I) and Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its *vṛtti*, *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa II). Eggeling[1] falls into the error of confounding the two and assigning both the works to the same author. From the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv 148, we learn that the Jaina name in the Prakrit form of the author is Bāhaḍa and that he was the son of Soma[2]. From the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its commentary[3], on the other hand, we learn that its author was the son of Nemikumāra and Mahā-(mahī?-) devī or Vasundharā; while his native town, called Rāhaḍapura from the shrine of a deity of that name, is mentioned[4], as well as described, in a verse by the author himself[5]. Vāgbhaṭa II also appears to cite Vāgbhaṭa I as one of his authorities[6]. Both the Vāgbhaṭas, however, quote from the poet Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*, Vāgbhaṭa II citing the poem by name frequently for the purpose of illustrating the characteristics of a good poem (e.g. p. 16)[7]. It appears that Vāgbhaṭa I may or may not be identical with the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*; but

1 *IOC* iii pp. 330-1.

2 So also in Jinavardhana, Siṃhadeva and Kṣemahaṃsagaṇi's comms. on this verse.

3 p. 1 *vṛtti*, and the concluding verse.

4 p. 1 *vṛtti*.

5 *IOC* iii p. 332. In the Kāvyamālā edition of the work, this verse is also given at p. 10, but the words *asmābhir uktam*, preceding it in the India Office MS, are wanting.

6 ii p. 31: *iti daṇḍi-vāmana-vāgbhaṭādi-praṇītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ*.

7 The verses quoted in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* from the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* are given by Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 309.

Vāgbhaṭa II should be distinguised from both[1]. We must also distinguish the medical writer Vāgbhaṭa, son of Siṃhagupta.

Vāgbhaṭa I seems to have been contemporaneous with Hemacandra, and lived under the Cālukya Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilla-pattana[2], who flourished from 1094 to 1143 A.D. We have references to this king and his capital in iv 45, 76, 81, 85 and 132, and he is described as the son of king Karṇadeva. Both Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi in their commentaries explain that the prince referred to is Jayasiṃha, son of Karṇadeva, of Aṇahilla-pāṭaka. It also appears from what Siṃhadeva Gaṇi on iv 148 says that Vāgbhaṭa was probably a *mahāmātya* of the said prince, a statement which is supported by the description given of our author in Prabhācandra Sūri's *Prabhāvaka-carita*[3], from which we also learn that Vāgbhaṭa lived in 1123 A.D. and also in 1157 A.D. Vāgbhaṭa's literary activity, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the first half of the 12th century.

1 Winternitz thinks (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* ii p. 338 fn 1, iii p. 22 fn 1, also iii p. 642) that Vāgbhaṭa I is the same as the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa.*—Jalhaṇa ascribes the verse *anālocya premṇaḥ* to one Vāgbhaṭa, but it does not occur in any of these Vāgbhaṭas. It occurs, however, in Amaru 80. It is cited anonymously by Vallabhadeva 1170; while in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* it is attributed to Rājaśekhara, and in *Kavīndra-vacana* 372 to the poetess Vikaṭa-nitambā.

2 and not Jayasiṃha of Kashmir, as Haricānd (p. 49) erroneously gives it.

3 Second half of the 13th century, see Bühler's *Hemacandra* note 1; also *Vāgbhaṭālam°* (ed. Kāvyamālā, 1916) p.1-2fn.

Vāgbhaṭa II appears to be a later writer. His reference to Vāgbhaṭa I and considerable borrowing from Hemacandra give us one limit to his date. The other terminus[1] is unknown; for the Jaina authors (excepting Hemacandra) are rarely quoted by later writers on the subject. He may have been earlier than Deveśvara, whose borrowings, however, are not conclusive enough for any chronological inference. Vāgbhaṭa II himself cites two of his own works, viz. *Ṛṣabhadeva-carita* (p. 15, called a *mahā-kāvya*) and *Chandônuśāsana* (p. 20); but of these nothing is known. In two illustrative verses there are references to two princes called Mūlarāja (p. 45) and Vibhākara (p. 44). This Vibhākara is unknown, but Mūlarāja appears to be the same as the founder of the Cālukya dynasty at Aṇahilla-pattana(=Anhilvāḍ) in Guzerat[2].

(3)

No commentaries on Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa II is known, but the *Vāgbhaṭâlaṃkāra*[3] appears

1 Haricānd Śāstrī (*op. cit.* p. 49) places him in the 13th century, but he does not state the grounds of his opinion.

2 Peterson notes (iii App. p. 124) a reference in the *puṣpikā* of a MS of Hemcandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalāka-puruṣa* to one Nemikumāra, who flourished in *saṃvat* 1295, and he queries whether this Nemikumāra was our Vāgbhaṭa's father (iv p. lxxi).

3 The published text of this work contains five chapters, which is also the number in the Bodleian, Stein, Madras and India Office MSS; but Weber's MS (1718) adds a sixth chapter, which appears to deal with the figure *yamaka*.

to have been fortunate in this respect. Of the commentators on this work, whose names are noted below, Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi are better known, and their commentaries have been published. Jinavardhana was pupil of Jinarāja Sūri and was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 or 1419 A.D.[1]. In some catalogues (e.g. Mitra 2814), his name is given as Ādinātha.

1 Klatt in *IA* xi p. 249; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 25; *IOC* iii no 1156 and 2656a.

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Hemacandra

Edition. Kāvyamālā 71, 1901.

MSS. Aufrecht i 103a, 32a (under *Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi*, Aufrecht apparently confuses between the text and the commentary, as also in) 779a; iii 22b. *Madras Cat.* 12836.

Vāgbhaṭa I

Editions. (1) by A. Borooah, Calcutta 1883 (2) Kāvyamālā 48 (with Siṃhadeva Gaṇi's comm.) 1895, 1915 (our references are to the ed. of 1915) (3) by Mūrtidhara, Śrīveṅkaṭêśvara Press, Bombay (4) with an old gloss, by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Bombay 1894 (5) Granthamālā viii 1889-90 (with Jinavardhana's comm.).

MSS. Aufrecht i 559a, ii 132a, iii 118b. *SCC* vii 44; *SCB* 687; *KBod* 509; *Madras Cat.* 12954.

Commentaries. (1) by Jinavardhana Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. Ed. with the text in Granthamālā viii. MSS in Aufrecht i 559a, ii 132a, iii 118b: Bendall no. 421-22. Ādinātha in Aufrecht i 559a is the same as Jinavardhana.

(2) by Siṃhadeva Gaṇi. Ed. with text in Kāvyamālā 48 and by Śrīveṅkaṭêśvara Press, Bombay. MSS: Aufrecht i 559a, ii 132a, iii 118b.

(3) *Samāsânvaya ṭippaṇa* by Kṣemahaṃsa Gaṇi. Aufrecht ii 132a ; extr. in Stein p. 274.

(4) *Vivaraṇa* of Gaṇeśa, son of Anantabhaṭṭa and disciple of Bhāskara. Aufrecht i 559a, 794a.

(5) by Rājahaṃsa Upādhyāya, pupil of Jinatilaka Sūri who was a pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. Aufrecht i 559a. The MS noticed by Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156, 279) was copied in *saṃvat* 1486 = 1430 A.D.

(6) by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His commentary was composed in Ahmedabad for Harirāma in 1636 A.D. See Peterson iv p. cxxvi. MSS in Aufrecht ii 132a. Also wrote a comm. on *Raghu.*

(7) *Avacūri.* Author's name unknown. Aufrecht ii 132a, iii 118b.

(8) anonymous commentary in *SCC* vii 45.

Vāgbhaṭa II

Edition. Kāvyamālā 43, 1894, 1915.

MSS. Aufrecht i 32a (under *Alaṃkāra-tilaka,* for Aufrecht takes this to be another name of the *Kāvyânuśāsana* of Vāgbhaṭa II).

XX ARISIMHA, AMARACANDRA AND DEVESVARA

(1)

The Śvetâṃbara Jainas, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, are notable in Sanskrit Poetics for a work on the composition of verses called the *Kavitā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalata*, and its commentary entitled *Kāvya-kalpalatā Kaviśikṣā-vṛtti*. This work was composed in part by Arisiṃha and completed by Amaracandra[1], who also wrote the commentary[2]. Arisiṃha, described as the son of Lāvaṇyasiṃha or Lavaṇasiṃha wrote also a poem (called *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana*) in honour of his patron Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.), the Jaina minister of the Dholkā Rāṇā Vīradhabala; and he also lived in the time of Vīradhabala's son Vīsaladeva[3]. Amaracandra appears to be a more prolific writer, being also the author of the *Jinêndra-carita* (otherwise

1 *kiṃcic ca tad-racitaṃ ātmakṛtaṃ ca kiṃcit / vyākhyāsyate tvarita-kāvya-kṛte'tra sūtram*, says the *vṛtti*.

2 The colophon calls the *vṛtti kavi-śikṣā-vṛtti*. Bühler thinks, from i 1 and 2, that the original *kārikā*-verses of Arisiṃha were called *Kavitā-rahasya*, while Amaracandra's *vṛtti* was entitled *Kāvya-kalpalatā*.

3 See the question discussed in detail in Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana des Arisiṃha*, Wien 1889, pp. 5f, 38; also *IA* vi 210-12.

called *Padmānanda-kāvya*)[1], the *Bāla-bhārata*[2] and a grammar (?) called *Syādiśabda-samuccaya* (Aufrecht i 180). Rājaśekhara, the Jaina author of the *Prabandha-koṣa*, also attributes a *Sūktāvali* and a *Kalā-kalāpa*. In the *vṛtti* to the *Kāvya-kalapalatā* itself, three other works by Amaracandra are cited, viz. the *Chando-ratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody (p. 7), the *Kāvya-kalpalatā-parimala*[3], (pp. 22, 31, 80), probably an epitome or continuation of the same work, and an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-prabodha* (p. 147).

Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri[4] of the Vāyaḍa-gaccha, who is identified with the author of the *Viveka-vilāsa* and who lived about the middle of the 13th century[5]. Amaracandra appears to have been a pupil or a fellow-student of Arisiṃha[6] and lived, according to the account given in Jaina Rāja-śekhara's work[7], in time of Vīradhabala and his

1 Peterson i p. 126 no. 285, also pp. 58-59 and App. I p. 2; Bühler, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 38.

2 ed. in Kāvyamālā 45.

3 cf *IOC* 848, which has a reference to *Kāvya-kalpalatā-mañjarī*.

4 See the concluding verse of *Bāla-bhārata* and the colophon to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā*.

5 See Peterson i p 58-59, but Peterson's conjecture about Jinadatta is not right; see also Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 258; Peterson iv pp. viii, xxxvi and App. 115; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 6, 156; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 25, 48.

6 Rājaśekhara says that Amara was a pupil of Arisiṃha. Cf Śrīdhara Bhandarkar's *Rep.* 1904-6, pp. 23-24: Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 5-6: *contra* Bhandarkar.

7 His work is dated in 1348 A.D. See introd. to

minister Vastupāla, as well as in that of Vīsaladeva, before the latter's accession to the throne of Aṇhilvāḍ i.e. about the second quarter or the middle of the 13th century.

(2)

The date of Deveśvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself; for it closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra's work; and it is not difficult to show that he also slavishly copies wholesale from the text of his predecessors. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and even repeats the illustrative stanzas. Thus Deveśvara pp. 157-60 (*veṇyāḥ sarpāsi°*) and pp. 36-7 (*ratnādi yatra*) = Arisiṃha pp. 135-37 and pp. 30-1; the definition of *adbhuta-vidhi* in Arisiṃha p. 93 = Deveśvara p. 130. This copying is not sporadic but systematic, and is found practically throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara had had the text of the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* before him, when he composed his own work on the same subject. This gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 13th century.

The other terminus is given by the fact that a verse of Deveśvara's (*nāga-viśeṣe śeṣe* p. 155) is quoted under his name in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅga-

Amara's *Bāla-bhārata* ed. Kāvyamālā. Rājaśekhara was a pupil of Tilaka Sūri of Koṭika Gaṇa (Peterson iv p. cv).

dhara (545, *deveśvarasya*). As this anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., we get the middle of the 14th century as the other terminus. Allowing half a century to elapse between Deveśvara and Arisiṃha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time between Deveśvara and the compiler of the *Paddhati*, on the other, we may roughly fix the beginning of the 14th century as his approximate date.

Deveśvara describes himself as the son of Vāgbhaṭa, who was a *mahāmātya* to the king of Mālava ; and in one of the *samasyā-ślokas*, there is a panegyric of Hammīra-mahīmahendra, who is apparently the Cauhan prince of that name who reigned about 1283 A.D.[1].

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Editions. (1) Rāma Śāstrī, Benares 1886 (our references are to this edition) (2) Vāmana Śāstrī, Bombay 1891.

MSS. Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b, iii 22b.

Commentary. °*Makaranda* by Śubhavijaya Gaṇi, pupil of Hīravijaya Sūri of Tapā-gaccha who lived in the reign of 'Akabbar Sāhi'. Aufrecht i 101a, iii 22b ;

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1 See a note by the present writer in *JRAS* 1922 p. 578f on the date of Deveśvara. In the footnote there, omit the words "from the author's own comment on the word." Deveśvara also refers to another work of his, called *Candrakalāpa* (*matkṛta-candrakalāpe'malamatibhis tad budhair jñeyam*, *ŚgŚ* ii p. 225, also in Bibl. Ind. ed.). The variant in the Calcutta edition (1900) reads (p. 42) instead *matkṛta-kavikalpalatā-parimalatās*°, while an alternative reading noticed in the Bibl. Indica ed. (p. 52) is *matkṛta-kavi-kalpalatāyām amalamatibhis*°.

KBod 497. The author lived in the reign of Salem or Jahangir (*śrimat-salem-sāhi-rājye*) and wrote the commentary in *saṃvat* 1665 = 1609 A.D., at the request of Vijayadeva Sūri (Peterson vi p. 25f).

Kavi-kalpalatā

Editions. (1) with comm. by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma, Calcutta 1870 (2) with comm. by Rāmagopāla Kaviratna 1900 (our references are to this edition) (3) Bibl. Indica by Śaraccandra Śāstrī with comm., Calcutta 1913 (4) in *Pratnakrama-nandinī*, Benares nos. 1-31.

MSS. Aufrecht i 87a, 777b, ii 16b, 192a, iii 19a; *Madras Cat.* 12804-07; *SCC* vii 7.

Commentary. (1) *Bālabodhikā* by Sūrya Kavi, also known as Sūryadāsa or Sūrya Sūri. His genealogy is given thus: Rāma of Pārthapura (under Rāma, king of Devagiri)→Viṣṇu→Nīlkaṇṭha→Nāganātha →Nṛsiṃha→Nāganātha→Jñanarāja (author of *Siddhânta-sundara*)→Sūrya (Weber i p. 231). He was a versatile author (for his works see Aufrecht i 731b, ii 175b), and his *Līlāvatī-ṭīkā* was composed in 1542, while *Sūrya-prakāśa* on Bhāskara's *Bījagaṇita* is dated in 1539 A.D. He also wrote an artificial poem called *Rāmakṛṣṇa-viloma-kāvya* (ed. in Haeberlin's Kāvya-saṃgraha, and Kāvyamālā pt. xi p. 147f) which praises in alternate verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and gives the same text whether read forward or backward. He also wrote a *Nṛsiṃhacampū* in 5 ucchvāsas (*IOC* vii p. 1548; see also *ibid* p. 1478). He belonged to the Bharadvāja-gotra and lived in Pārtha-pura near the confluence of the Godāvarī and Vidarbhā. Aufrecht i 87a, iii 19a.

(2) Comm. by Vecārāma. Aufrecht ii 16b. See under Minor Writers.

(3) anonymous °*ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii 8.

XXI JAYADEVA

(1)

Jayadeva, author of the popular text-book *Candrāloka*, is otherwise known as Pīyūṣavarṣa (i 2)[1], and himself gives us the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā (i 16). The name Jayadeva, however, is borne by our author in common with many other Sanskrit writers. Of the fifteen different persons, mentioned by Aufrecht, as bearing the same name, it seems likely that our author is identical with the poet who wrote the well-known drama called the *Prasanna-rāghava* ; for in the prologue to that drama there are two verses (i 14-15) which inform us that the dramatist was also the son of Mahādeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra and Sumitrā, a coincidence of names which does not seem to be accidental. Aufrecht, however, identifies[2] our author with Jayadeva who composed the well known lyric named *Gīta-govinda* ; but apart from all arguments

1 Also in a verse given at the end in some MSS, e. g. Peterson ii p. 109, *Madras Cat.* p. 8656 : *pīyūṣavarṣa-prabhavaṃ candrâlokam manoharam* etc. Also the verse *jayanti jājñika-śrīman-mahādevâṅga-janmanaḥ / sūkti-pīyūṣa-varṣasya jayadeva-kaver giraḥ*, commented on in the *Śaradâgama* and the *Rākûgama* comms. These verses are wanting in the Calcutta ed.

2 *ZDMG* xxvii 30.

derived from the style and poetic genius of the two writers, which possess few kindred excellences, the fact that the author of the lyric, in one of his concluding verses[1], tells us that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, according to other readings) stands seriously against the proposed identification. The identity of Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara, also called Jayadeva, is equally doubtful, and Aufrecht mentions the two names separately. The name Pakṣadhara, no doubt, was a mere title given to the logician from the circumstance of his having been able to maintain by subtle reasoning whatever side of a question he undertook to defend; but the argument for his identity with our Jayadeva, relied on by Hall[2], that Jayadeva in his drama refers (i 18) to his knowledge of *pramāṇa*, befitting a logician, is hardly convincing and sufficient[3].

(2)

The date of Jayadeva yet remains unsettled. There is hardly any doubt, however, that he should

1 xii p. 171, ed. N.S. P., 1917. It is not commented upon by Kumbha in his *Rasika-priyā* comm., but Śaṅkara, in his *Rasa-mañjarī* comm. says: *adhunā pitṛ-mātṛ-nāma-nibadhnan prāthayate sajjanān* (ed. N. S. P. *loc. cit*). The same in the colophon in Bühler's MSS (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 64), where read Rāmādevī for Rāmadeva.

2 Introd. to *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* pp. 62-63: Keith (*Indian Logic* p. 33f) appears to accept the identification.

3 Jayadeva, author of a manual on Erotics, called *Rati-mañjarī* in 60 verses (ed. in Haeberlin and by Pavolini in

be placed earlier than Keśava Miśra, who cites (p. 47) the verse *kadalī kadalī* from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i 37). As Keśava flourished in the middle of the 16th century, we may safely assign Jayadeva to a period earlier than that. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Śaradāgama* commentary on the *Candrāloka*, was composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A.D.[1], under the patronage of a Bundella prince, named Vīrabhadra, of the the Vāghelā dynasty, who himself wrote a commentary on Vātsyāyana (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) in *saṃvat* 1633 = 1577 A.D[2]. We may push this limit to the date of Jayadeva's work back to the beginning of the 14th century, because two verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i 19 and 33) are quoted in *Śārangadhara-paddhati* (164 and 3520), compiled in 1363 A.D. ; while Śiṅgabhūpāla, whose date has been fixed at 1330 A.D., cites the drama itself in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (pp. 258, 277). This gives us one terminus to the date of Jayadeva in the first quarter of the 14th century[3].

Giornale della Soc. Asiat. Italiana, 1904, pp. 317f) is probably a different and later writer.

1 *AFl* no. 467 (51), p. 158 ; *ALeip* no. 820, p. 268.

2 Peterson ii pp. 66, 132 ; iv p. cxvi.

3 Paranjpe and Panse in their edition (Poona, 1894) of the drama (p. xiii f) identify Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara Jayadeva and assign him to a period between 1500 and 1577 A. D. So also Peterson in introd. to *Subhāṣ*° p. 37f. Cf also Eggeling *IOC* iii pp. 332f. Winternitz (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii p. 26, fn 3) thinks that Jayadeva could not have written long before Appayya. But

The other terminus is given by the inference that Jayadeva is later than Ruyyaka; for in his *Candrāloka* he directly adopts some of the original definitions of poetic figures given for the first time by Ruyyaka. The figure *vikalpa*, for instance, which (as both Ruyyaka himself and Jayaratha inform us)[1] was invented and defined for the first time by Ruyyaka, is literally copied by Jayadeva (v 112). We cannot, therefore, place Jayadeva, who upholds the views peculiar to Ruyyaka as well as Mammaṭa, earlier than the second half of the 12th century.

Jayadeva, therefore, should be assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 14th, a closer approximation

all these scholars appear to have overlooked this quotation in Śārañgadhara. No chronological conclusion is inferable from Jayadeva's mention of the poet Cora: for Bühler's identification of this poet with Bilhaṇa is not free from doubt (see Solf, *Die Kashmir Recension der Pañcāśikā*, Kiel 1886, p. xxif). Nor should stress be laid on the fact that verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* occur in the *Mahānāṭaka*; for the date of the latter, as well as its proper text, cannot be taken to have been satisfactorily settled (see Lévi ii p. 48; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* pp. 88-9). Jayadeva himself, as a rhetorician, is quoted by very late writers like Appayya, Keśava and Bhīmasena.

1 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii p. 60c, note 1. Ruyyaka says expressly with regard to this figure: *pūrvair akṛta-viveko'tra darśita ityavagantavyam*, upon which Jayaratha remarks: *anenāsya granthakṛd-upajñatvam eva darśitam* (p. 159).

than which is not possible at present; and perhaps we may tentatively place him in the 13th century.

(3)

The *Candrāloka* is a general treatise on Poetics in ten chapters (called *mayūkhas*). The Calcutta edition of the text, published in 1874[1], enumerates the following divisions: (1) Vāg-vicāra (*śl.* 16) (2) Doṣa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 44½) (3) Lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 11) (4) Guṇa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 12) (5) Alaṃkāra-nirūpaṇa, consisting of Śabdâlaṃkāras (*śl.* 10), Alaṃkārânukramaṇikā (*śl.* 16), and Arthâlaṃkāras (*śl.* 174) (6) Rasâdi-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 24) (7) Dhvani-nirūpaṇa *śl.* 18) (8) Guṇībhūta vyaṅgya (*śl.* 10) (9) Lakṣaṇā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 15) (10) Abhidhā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 4). This arrangement is substantially followed in the Leipzig MS 819 (which contains only 5 *mayūkhas*) and correspond closely with the arrangement mentioned by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary (p.9) on Appayya's *Kuvalayânanda*, where the chapters are given thus: 1. Śabda-mayūkha 2. Doṣa-mayūkha 3. Lakṣaṇa-mayūkha 4. Guṇa-mayūkha 5. Alaṃkāra-mayūkha 6. Rasa-mayūkha 7. Dhvani-mayūkha 8. Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya-mayūkha 9. Lakṣaṇā-mayūkha and 10 Tatśakti (= Abhidhā)-mayūkha[2].

1 The Calcutta edition (by Jīvānanda) of 1906 substantially keeps to this arrangement and numbering of verses in the different chapters.

2 The text as commented upon by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa, Gāgābhaṭṭa and Vaidyanātha (*Madras Cat.* 12876-78)

It will seen from this that the section on Arthâlaṃkāra in chapter v is the most considerable part of the work, which appears to have become, to the exclusion of the rest of the work, a favourite manual of poetic figures It was specially adapted for this purpose by Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayânanda*, which bodily incorporates the *kārikās* of this section (with only slight modifications), himself only writing the running prose commentary and adding a few supplementary figures. This work of Appayya's, therefore, may be regarded, in a sense, as a commentary on this chapter of the *Candrâloka*. Appayya himself indicates his indebtedness in one of the prefatory verses[1] by saying that the definition-stanzas of the *Candrâloka* are borrowed in his own work, but there are a few modifications and additions[2] of his own. He also explains in the concluding verse how his work came to be called *Kuvalayânanda* (lit. "delight of lotuses") from the *Candrâloka* (lit. "the sight or light of the moon"):

candrâloko vijayatāṃ, śaradâgama-saṃbhavaḥ
hṛdyaḥ kuvalayânando yat-prasādāt abhūd ayaṃ,

which, apart from the obvious pun involved, praises the *Candrâloka*, the cause of its commentary called

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contains these ten *mayūkhas*. MSS of the complete text noticed also in Mitra ii p. 177, v p. 103, ix p 184 : Peterson ii 109.

1 *yeṣāṃ candrâloke dṛśyante lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-ślokāḥ* | *prāyas ta eva, teṣām itareṣāṃ tvabhinavā viracyante.*

2 The differences of reading in the *kārikās* are noted in Hālāsyanātha Śāstrī's ed. of *Kuvalayânanda* (with the *Rasikarañjanī* of Gaṅgādhara), Kumbhakonum 1892.

Śaradâgama, from the contact of both of which the charming *Kuvalayânanda* originated. This *Śaradâgama* commentary apparently refers to the commentary of the same name on the *Candrâloka*, composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A. D[1].

But on account of the wholesale appropiation ot this chapter of Jayadeva's work, the title *Candrâloka* appears to have been frequently applied to the *arthâlaṃkāra*-section of the work[2] alone, as well as to Appayya's *Kuvalayânanda*[3] itself. Thus the India

1 Vaidyanātha, apparently ignorant of the existence of the *Śaradâgama* commentary, interprets (ed. N. S. P. 1917 p. 188) the phrase *śaradâgama saṃbhavaḥ* as referring to some previous original of the *Candrâloka* itself. An instance of similar ignorance on the part of the commentator is given by the story of Āśādhara in his comm. on the *Kuvalay*° (p. 86) that Appayya composed the *Candrâloka* itself at the request of the king of Veṅkaṭagiri, and later on wrote his *Kuvalay*° on its basis. Gaṅgādhara, a more reliable commentator on Appayya's work (who tells us that Appayya was the *guru* of a brother of his grandfather) interprets the phrase correctly as: *atra candrâloka-nāmā granthaḥ śaradâgama-nāmnā ṭīkā-granthena saṃbhava utpattiḥ* (p. 283). The supposition (*ŚgŚ* ii pp. 68-9) that Appayya's utilisation of Jayadeva's work was resented by the latter, who is said to have made a veiled reference to this fact in the prologue to the *Prasanna-rāghava* (where the stage-manager alludes to the stealing of his name) is disproved by the fact that Appayya lived long after Jayadeva.

2 Cf Gaṅgādhara on *Kuvalay*° p. 9 : *candrâloko'rthâlaṃkārâtmaka eva, na tvanya iti keṣāṃcid bhramaḥ*.

3 Thus Regnaud (*Rhétorique Sanskrite* p. 375) speaks of the *Candrâloka* as being composed of 151 *ślokas*, dealing

Office MS 2656, Weber 1721 and Madras MSS 12871-74 constitute in reality the *arthâlaṃkāra*-section of the *Candrâloka*, embodied in the *Kuvalayânanda*, and not the whole text, but they are entitled *Candrâloka*. Appayya's work does not end with the hundred poetic figures dealt with by Jayadeva, but it adds a supplementary chapter on a few additional figures. In some texts of the *Candrâloka* this appears to have been erroneously included. A considerable confusion is also noticeable in the different MSS of Jayadeva's and Appayya's works as to the arrangement of the three opening verses, as well as with regard to the total number of *ślokas* contained in the *arthâlaṃkāra*-section. The verse *paraspara-tapaḥ-sampat*° occurs in most accepted texts of this section of the *Candrâloka*, but it is not intelligible why Jayadeva should add this benedictory verse in a chapter, which occurs in the middle of the book. Gaṅgādhara pointedly remarks that this verse is not Jayadeva's, but was composed by Appayya himself as prefatory to his own work[1].

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with the definition and illustration of poetic figures, which description applies to the *Kuvalay*°.

1 Gaṅgādhara *op. cit.*, p. 9: "*tathā paraspara-tapaḥ-saṃpat" iti candrâloka-nāndī-śloka ityapi bhrama eva*; *pañcama-mayūkhe śadhâlaṃkārān nirūpya "upamā yatra sād-śya" ityâdinā arthâlaṃkāra-prastāve nāndyā evâbhāvāt.* The same remark applies apparently to the second verse *alaṃkāreṣu bālānām* and to v 174 which alludes to Veṅkaṭa-prabhu"; for they are probably Appayya's additions. Cf *IOC* iii pp. 333-34 for a discussion of this point.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON JAYADEVA

Of the commentators on the *Candrāloka*, mention has already been made of Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa and his commentary, called *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama*. He is described as the son of Miśra Balabhadra, and his patron's name is given as Vīrabhadra (or °rudra)-deva, son of Rāmcandra and grandson of Vīrabhānu, king of Ayodhya, of the Vandella family. His commentary is dated in 1583 A. D.; while his patron lived in the second half of the 16th century, as we find Vīrabhadra's commentary (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) on Vātsyāyana is dated in 1577 A. D.

There is another commentary called *Ramā*[2] written by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, who may not be identical with Vaidyanātha Tatsat, the commentator on Govinda's *Kāvya-pradīpa* and Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, although the two writers are taken as identical in most catalogues. The colophon to their commentaries distinctly make out their respect-

1 The Madras MS reads *vandella*, but the Florentine MS (*AFl* p. 158) has *vāghela*.

2 The name of his commentary is often given, through a confusion, as *Harilocana-candrikā* (Aufrecht i 182a), which itself appears to be a mistaken name for the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanātha Tatsat on *Kuvalay*°, the mistake arising from the word *harilocana-candrikā* occuring in the benedictory verse to the latter commentary, as well as from this confusion between the commentators on Jayadeva and Appayya respectively.

ive family-names as Pāyaguṇḍa and Tatsat; while in one of the introductory verses of the *Ramā* our Vaidyanātha calls himself distinctly Pāyaguṇḍa but does not give his own genealogy[1].

There is another less known commentary, called *Rākāgama* or °*Sudhā*, composed by Gāgābhaṭṭa, *alias* Viśveśvara, son of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa who was a Mīmāṃsaka. Viśveśvara, who also wrote a number of Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti works (Aufrecht i 587b), was a great-great-grandson of Rāmeśvara, nephew of the well-known Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, whose date, as we have seen, is the first quarter of the 17th century[2]. Viśveśvara, therefore, is a comparatively modern writer who probably flourished in the beginning of the 18th century, and should not be confused with Viśveśvara, author of the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*.

Two other little known commentaries are mentioned below.

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1 This commentary has not yet been published, and the description of it given in the catalogues is unsatisfactory on this point. This conjecture, therefore, is put forward with reserve, as I have no means to verify it except the short extract given from it in the *Madras Catalogue* pp. 8652-53, and in *SCC* vii 30.

2 see above p. 180. The genealogy is given thus: Rāmeśvara→ Nārāyaṇa→ Rāmakṛṣṇa→ Dinakara→ Viśveśvara.

With Commentary. By Sūrya-balirāma Caube, Benares 1895 (with Candrāloka-nigūḍhārtha-dīpikā). The ed. with Budharañjanī comm. published from Madras is really a commentary on the Arthālaṃkāra-section incorporated in the *Kuvalay°* and not upon the whole text. Our references are to the Calcutta ed. 1917, which contains the whole text.

MSS. Aufrecht i 182a, 784b; ii 37a, 199b; iii 39a. *SCC* vii 31, 144, 444; *Madras Cat.* 12860 (which contains the verses of the *Candrāloka* with *Kuvalay°*), 12871-73. Most of these MS, however, contain the *arthālaṃkāra*-section and not the whole text see above p. 221-2. The *Alaṃkāra-śataka* of Jayadeva in Oppert ii 2763 is a descriptive name perhaps of this section of the *Candrāloka*. The *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha* in Mitra 1612 is in reality this *arthālaṃkāra*-section.

Commentaries. (1) *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama* by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 182a, ii 37a, 199b, iii 39a; *Madras Cat.* 12878 (extract).

(2) *Rākāgama* or *Sudhā* by Viśveśvara *alias* Gāgābhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 182a, 784b (*Sudhā*), ii 37a; *SCB* 139, 144 (*Sudhā*); *Madras Cat.* 12877 (extract).

(3) *Ramā* by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. Aufrecht i 182a, ii 37a; *Madras Cat.* 12876; *SCC* vii 30 (*ṭīkā*).

(4) Comm. by Vājacandra. Aufrecht i 182a.

(5) *°Dīpikā*. Name of author unknown. Aufrecht i 182a.

(6) *Śārada-śarvarī* by Virūpakṣa. Hultzsch 1617.

XXII VIDYADHARA AND MALLINATHA

(1)

The date of Vidyādhara, author of the *Ekāvalī*[1] has been fixed with sufficient approximation by Trivedī and R. G. Bhandarkar[2]. The latest writer quoted and mentioned by Vidyādhara is Ruyyaka (p. 150); and this gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 12th century. This conclusion is apparently supported by Vidyādhara's mention (p. 19) of Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*.

1 Aufrecht (i 75) mentions three different works called *Ekāvalī*, which appear to be the same work. The first and the third are undoubtedly identical and refer to our *Ekāvalī*; but the second is described by Burnell 54a (cf Oppert ii 3605) as composed by Mahāmāheśvara Kavi. This, however, appears to be a title of Vidyādhara himself, and is apparently the source of the confusion of our Vidyādhara with Abhinavagupta who also bore the same title (see Weber ii no. 1723). The colophon in the Madras MS (*Madras Cat.* p. 8611) reads : *iti śrīmato mahāmāheśvarasya kaver vidyādharasya kṛtāvekāvalī-nāmnyalaṃkāra-śāstre* etc. The first verse quoted in Burnell is the same as found in all the texts of our *Ekāvalī*.' The commentary *Taralā* noticed by Weber (*loc. cit.*) is apparently the same as *Taralā* of Mallinātha. The *Keli-rahasya* on Erotics is ascribed to Vidyādhara by Aufrecht, but the colophon gives the author's name as Vaidya-vidyādhara.

2 Introd. to the text in B. S. S. and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxvif.

who lived very probably in the 12th century[1]; but Vidyādhara's allusion in the same context to the poet Harihara[2], who is said by him to have obtained amazing wealth from a prince Arjuna (presumably the ruler of Mālava of that name), puts this terminus a little lower at the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Ekāvalī*, in its turn, is quoted by Śiṅgabhūpāla[3], whose date is fixed at 1330 A. D.; while Mallinātha, at the end of the 14th century, commented upon it. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century.

This approximation has been considerably narrowed down to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century by the identification of king Narasiṃha of Kaliṅga, panegyrised in the illustrative verses of the work, with Narasiṃha II of Kaliṅga, whose dates fall between 1280 and 1314. The patron of our author is described as one who crushed the pride of Hammīra (pp. 176, 177, 257, 260), who is probably the famous Cauhan prince, the hero of Nayacandra Sūri's poem[4], who began his

1 See Bühler in *JRASBom.* x. p. 31f, xi. p. 279f; K. T. Telang in *IA* ii p. 71, iii 81f: Bühler, *Rep.* 1874-75, p. 8.

2 See Trivedī's note at p. 348.

3 *Rasârṇava-sudhâkara* p. 107 = *Ekāv.* i 2. Cf *SgŚ* i p. 7f. This verse occurs however as the third *praśasti-śloka* in the printed text of Bilhaṇa's *Karṇa-sundarī* (ed. Kāvyamālā 7, 1895, p. 56).

4 See ed. Kīrtane v 56, also p. 27; Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. lxvii f.

reign about 1283 A. D., and attempted a conquest of Southern countries. All this makes it probable that the *Ekāvalī* was composed towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2)

The date of Mallinātha, author of the *Taralā* commentary on the *Ekāvalī*, has also been fixed at the end of the 14th century by Bhandarkar and Trivedī[1]. He must have written his commentary after a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text; for from *śl.* 6 it appears that the *Ekāvalī* was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries. He is identical with Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri (Peḍḍa Bhaṭṭa) who is the well-known scholiast and commentator on the five standard *mahākāvyas* of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi and Māgha, in some of which he quotes from the *Ekāvalī* itself.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 75a, ii 14b ; *Madras Cat.* 12801.

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1 Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxix ; Trivedī, introd. to Bhaṭṭi pp. xxiv-xxviii, introd. to *Ekāvalī* p. xxviif ; Pāṭhak, introd. to *Meghadūta* pp. 11-12 ; Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu* pp. 1-6, esp. pp. 5-6. Aufrecht in *Bod. Cat.* 113a states that Mallinātha flourished after the 18th century, on which see Bhandarkar, pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* p. xx.

XXIII VIDYANATHA AND KUMARASVAMIN

(1)

The latest writer that Vidyānātha cites is Ruyyaka (pp. 291, 334), whose lost work *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* is also apparently referred to at p. 11. Vidyānātha, in his turn, is quoted extensively but anonymously for definitions of poetic figures by Mallinātha in the latter's many commentaries on the different *kāvyas*[1].

This gives us the same broad limits to his date as to that of Vidyādhara; and other considerations make it probable that he was contemporaneous with the latter. The *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha was written, like the *Ekāvalī*, with the obvious object of panegyrising the king whose name it bears on its title. All the illustrative verses in the work eulogise the same king (also called Vīrarudra or Rudra), who is described as the son of Mahādeva and Munmuḍi or Mummaḍambā (pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133); and a short drama, named *Pratāpa-kalyāṇa*[2] after him, is introduced in the third chapter to illustrate the characteristics of a drama, discussed in the work itself. He is described

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1 For the quotations, see Trivedī's introd. to the text p. ix.

2 separately entered by Aufrecht i 349a and published in the Granthamālā vol. i.

as a *kākatīya* king[1] whose capital was Ekaśilā-nagara in the Trilinga or Andhra country, and who is said to have vanquished, among other kings, the princes of the Yādava family. All these and other details have led Trivedī to identify Vidyānātha's patron with Pratāparudra, the seventh *kākatīya* king of Ekaśilā or Orangal, whose inscriptions date between 1298 and 1317 A.D.[2], and who is placed by Sewell between 1295 and 1323 A.D., and by Śeṣagiri Śāstri between 1268 and 1319 A.D.[3] The Yādava king referred to, therefore, seems to be Rāmacandra, sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose dates are 1271 to 1309 A.D.[4] We may, therefore, assign Vidyānātha approximately towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2)

Vidyānātha's commentator Kumārasvāmin describes himself as the son of Kolācala Mallinātha, the well-known commentator and author of *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī*. He may, therefore, be placed in the beginning of the 15th century. The title of his commentary *Ratnâpaṇa*, (wrongly called *Ratnârpaṇa* by Eggeling, *op. cit.* p. 338b, following Burnell

1 so called, as the *Ratnâpaṇa* explains (p. 10, also *Ratnaśāṇa* p. 485) from the goddess Kākati he worshipped.

2 Eggeling (*IOC* iii p. 338) gives the dates 1298 and 1317.

3 See Trivedī, introd. pp. xvi-xxii. The correct dates appear to be 1298 and 1323 A. D.

4 Bhandarkar, *Early Hist.* p. 92.

56b) signifies, as he himself explains, a market-place where are sold jewels of poetic sentiments, collected together by Vidyānātha after they have been fashioned on the grindstone furnished by the merits of the hero.

The quotations in the *Ratnāpaṇa* are numerous and include, besides other well-known names, the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Ekāvalī*, the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (p. 245), Cakravartin and his *°Saṃjīvanī* commentary on Ruyyaka, Siṅgabhūpāla and his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, the author's own father Mallinātha and brother Peddayārya, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Narahari Sūri. There are numerous references to a work on *rasa*, called *Bhāva-prakāśa*, a MS of which, recently acquired by the Madras Oriental Library, makes it out to be an epitome of Bhoja's larger *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and gives the name of the author as Śāradātanaya (q.v). Mention is also made of Vasanta-rājīya Nāṭya-śāstra, its author Vasantarāja (q.v.) being apparently the king of Kumāragiri of the same name, who was a patron of Kāṭayavema. A Kavikalpa-druma-kāra is also cited at p. 170, but this is a work on grammar (*dhātupāṭha*) by Vopadeva. We know nothing of the *Nāṭaka-prakāśa* cited at p. 113. The *Rasa-nirūpaṇa* may be by Narahari Sūri, and the *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* is probably the work of the same name composed by Vīranārāyaṇa (q.v.)[1].

There is another commentary, called *Ratna-śāṇa*, included in the Bombay edition of the text.

[1] For these authors, see the chapter on Minor Writers below.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 349a, ii 78a, iii 74b. *WRAS* 89 (1), 77 (*Ratnâpaṇa*) ; *SCC* vii 32 ; *Madras Trm A* 241 : *Madras Cat.* 12902-914. MSS of the *Ratnâpaṇa* *Madras Cat.* 12915-19.

XXIV VISVANATHA

(1)

Viśvanātha never cites Ruyyaka (as well Mammaṭa) by name; but, like Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha, he draws very considerably upon the works of both. He adopts, for instance, the definitions of the figures *upameyôpamā* and *bhrānti-mān* directly from Ruyyaka, and admits the two figures ***vikalpa*** and ***vicitra*** which, both Ruyyaka and Jayaratha inform us, were inventions of Ruyyaka's[1]. It is quite possible, as Kane holds[2], that the censorious glancing on Mammaṭa's text, reproved by Viśvanātha (*ad* ii 14, p. 57), refers in particular to Ruyyaka's °*Saṃketa* commentary where the latter criticises Mammaṭa on the particular point under discussion. But a surer indication of Viśvanātha's acquaintance with Ruyyaka's works is given by his quotation of the verse *bhujaṅga-kuṇḍalī-vyakta*° at p. 445 (*ad* x 2), which Ruyyaka himself cites (p. 19) as his own from the *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava*. Viśvanātha quotes two other writers who, in all probability, belong to this century, viz., Jayadeva, author of

1 For other instances, where Viśvanātha is following or criticising Ruyyaka, see Kane's ed. of the text, the introd. and notes.

2 Kane, *op. cit.* p. 24 Addenda.

the *Gīta-govinda*[1], and Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*[2]. Again, the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv 441 is quoted in our text at p. 529, *ad* x 57a (possibly indirectly through Ruyyaka p. 93); but this work of Kalhaṇa's was not completed till the middle of the 12th century. All this will roughly fix one terminus to the date of Viśvanātha, who cannot thus be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century.

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a MS of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, discovered by Stein at Jammu, which was written in *saṃvat* 1440 = 1384 A.D.[3] This certainly negatives the date (viz. the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber[4], Eggeling[5] and Haricānd Śāstrī[6], the last

1 The verse *hṛdi viṣalatā* quoted by Viśvanātha at p. 506 (*ad* x 39) occurs in the *Gīta-govinda*, ed. N. S. P. iii 11, p. 58. It is also ascribed to Jayadeva by Śārṅgadhara (no. 3460) and Vallabhadeva (no. 1314). Bühler and Peterson assign (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 64 and *Subhās*° p 38) 1116 A. D. as the date of Jayadeva, while Haraprasāda Śāstrī gives the date 1175 A. D. (*Notices*, 2nd. Ser., p. xxxviii). Jayadeva, however, is said to have been cited by Cāndkavi, who wrote his epic on Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi towards the end of the 12th century (but see *WZKM* vii 189; *JRASBom* xi 283). Viśvanātha also refers to *Laṭaka-melaka* (p. 176, *ad* iii 219) of Śaṅkhadhara, which also belongs to this century.

2 p. 526, *ad* x 54 (*hanūmadādyai*°) = *Naiṣadha* ix 122b; p. 520, *ad* x 50 (*dhanyāsi vaidarbhi*) = *ibid* iii 116. For the date of Śrīharṣa see above p. 277, fn. 1

3 *Jammu Cat.* p. 64, no. 349.

4 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 231, n. 244. (Eng. trans. 1904).

5 *IOC* iii p. 337. 6 *op. cit.* p. 115.

of whom makes the unfortunate mistake of identifying Caṇḍīdāsa, referred to as a relative by Viśvanātha, with Caṇḍīdāsa, the Bengali poet of the 15th century. It may be noted that Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, names and quotes (pp. 245, 248) the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (iii 146a, 147 and 150).

All this raises the most likely presumption that Viśvanātha should be assigned to a period ranging roughly from 1200 to 1350 A. D. This approximation can be considerably narrowed down if we can draw any chronological inference from a verse in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iv 14, p. 232) which refers to a Muhammadan king named Allāvadīna[1]. This Allāvadīna or Alāvadīna[2] may probably be Sultān[3] 'Alāu-d-dīn *Kh*aljī, whose army invaded the Deccan and seized Orangal. Even if we suppose that the verse in question was composed in the life-time of that Sultān, who died in 1315 A. D., the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* may be presumed to have been composed at a date not earlier than 1300 A. D. At any rate, if this historical deduction is permissible, we may assign Viśvanātha to a period between

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1 *sandhau sarvasva-haraṇam vigrahe prāṇa-nigrahaḥ| al(l)avadīna-nṛpatau na sandhir na ca vigrahaḥ.*

2 We find both these forms of the name in two inscriptions, see *JASB* xliii p. 108 and Bhavanagar inscription 114=*Prācīna-lekha-mālā* ii 28. In Harṣakīrti's *Dātupāṭha* this king is referred to as Allāvadi (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 43).

3 The sanskritised form of this word *suratrāṇa* occurs at p. 509 (*ad* x 42).

1300 and 1350 A. D., or roughly in the first half of the 14th century[1].

(2)

Viśvanātha describes himself as the son of *mahākavi* Candraśekhara (p. 583, concluding verses), who appears, like his son, to have been a poet and a scholar[2], as well as a high official[3] in the court of some king, probably king of Kaliṅga. Nārāyaṇa, who appears to have written also on some topics of Poetics, is either his grandfather or great-great-grandfather; for in his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Viśvanātha speaks of Nārāyaṇa as *asmat-pitāmaha*, while in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (p. 73, *ad* iii 4a), the same person is called *asmat-vṛddhapitāmaha.* Caṇḍīdāsa, apparently the author of the °*Dīpikā* commentary on Mammaṭa, is also quoted and described as a relative, having been the younger brother of Viśvanātha's grandfather (p. 420, *ad* vii 31a)[4].

1 Cf Kane *op. cit.* introd. p. vi; M. Cakravarti in *JASB* lxxii (1903), p. 146, N.S. ii, 1906, p. 167n; Keith in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 848f; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 3.

2 His verses cited at pp. 58, 116, 170, 174, while his works, called *Puṣpamālā* and *Bhāṣārṇava*, referred to at pp. 263 and 316 respectively.

3 Both are described as *sāndhivigrahika-mahāpātra.*

4 Viśvanātha cites one Puruṣottama (p. 440, *ad* ix 4a). A work called *Kavitāvatāra* is attributed to one Puruṣottama in Burnell 54a.

Viśvanātha appears to have written a number of works, besides his well-known *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*; for in it he himself refers to his own productions, viz.,

(1) *Rāghava-vilāsa-kāvya* (*ad* vi 325a, p. 355).

(2) *Kuvalayāśva-carita* in Prakrit (*ad* vi 326, p. 356).

(3) *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* (*ad* vi 182b, p. 320), also referred to in his commentary on Mammaṭa ch. vii.

(4) *Praśasti-ratnāvalī* in 16 languages, a *karambhaka* (*ad* vi 337b, p. 358).

(5) *Candrakalā* (*ad* vi 183a and 184, p. 320-1), a *nāṭikā*.

He also wrote a commentary called *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* on Mammaṭa's work; but this was probably composed after he had written his larger independent work on Poetics; for in it he himself refers, while commenting on *lakṣaṇā* (ch. ii), to the latter work[1]. In the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* itself he draws very considerably upon Mammaṭa; and although at the beginning of this work, he quotes and criticises at some length Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, he distinctly reproves all irreverent criticism of this venerable writer, who is declared to be his own *upajīvya* (*ad* ii 14 p. 57). In this commentary Viśvanātha refers to a *Narasiṃha-vijaya-kāvya* by himself.

1. *eṣāṃ ca ṣoḍaśānāṃ lakṣaṇā-bhedānām iha darśitâny-udāharaṇāni mama sāhitya-darpaṇe'vagantavyāni.* Also on figure *anumāna* (ch. x): *tad uktam matkṛte sāhitya-darpaṇe.*

It is not clear on what grounds Weber and Eggeling[1] state that the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* was composed "on the banks of the Brahmaputra", i. e. in Eastern Bengal. It appears on the contrary that Viśvanātha was probably a native of Kaliṅga, which we may take at this date to have been co-extensive roughly with Orissa and Ganjam. In his commentary on Mammaṭa, he explains certain expression with Oriya equivalents[2]; and speaking of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa, he refers to king Narasiṃha-deva of Kaliṅga (presumably Narasiṃha II, about 1279-1306), at whose court Nārāyaṇa vanquished one Dharmadatta[3], who is also referred to in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* at pp. 73, 79[4]. It is probably in praise of one of the Narasiṃhas of Kaliṅga that Viśvanātha's lost poem *Narasiṃha-vijaya* was written.

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1 Cf also Macdonell, *Sansk. Lit.* p. 434; *SCC* vii no. 53, p. 33.

2 "*vaiparītyaṃ ruciṃ kuru*" *iti pāṭhaḥ, atra ciṅku-padaṃ kāśmīrâdi-bhāṣāyām aślīlârtha-bodhakam, utkalâdi-bhāṣāyām dhṛta-vāṇḍaka-drava iti*, on Mammaṭa v p. 238 (ed. Jhalakīkara 1917).

3 cited also in the *Rasa-pradīpa* of Prabhākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava (Weber i 823), in which the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is also quoted. Prabhākara's work was composed in 1583 A.D.

4 *yad āhuḥ śri-kaliṅga-bhūmaṇḍalâkhaṇḍala-mahārājâdhirāja-śrīnarasiṃha-sabhāyāṃ dharmadattaṃ sthagayantaḥ sakala-sahṛdaya-goṣṭhī-gariṣṭha-kavi-paṇḍitâsmat-pitāmaha-śrīman-nārāyaṇadāsa-pādāḥ*, etc.

(3)

The commentaries on Viśvanātha are not so numerous or important as to deserve any special enumeration. Of the four commentaries mentioned below, that of Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgîśa, dated in *śaka* 1623 = 1701 A.D., has been frequently printed with the text.

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Editions. Published frequently in Calcutta, of which ed. (1) by Nāthurāma, 1828, and (2) by Röer in Bibl. Indica 1851, are notable. The latter does not contain the comm. of Rāmacaraṇa. Also eds. (1) with Rāmacaraṇa's comm. by Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛti-bhūṣaṇa, Calcutta B. S. 1318 (2) Benares 1882 (3) Calicut 1886 (4) N. S. P. 1902, 1915 (5) by Kane (ch. i, ii, x) with introd. and notes, Bombay 1910 (the commentary is not given). Translated into English by Ballantyne and P. D. Mitra 1875, Bibl. Indica. Our references are to the N. S. P. ed. of 1915 by Durgāprasāda Dviveda, unless otherwise specified.

MSS. Aufrecht i 715b, ii 171a, 233b, iii 148a; *SCC* vii 53, 56, 57; *Madras Trm B* 443; *KBod* 510; *SCB* 2235.

Commentaries. (1) °*Locana* by Anantadāsa, son of Viśvanātha, a MS of which is dated 1636 A. D. Aufrecht ii 171a.

(2) °*Ṭippaṇa* by Mathuranātha Śukla, a voluminous writer, under whose name Aufrecht makes more than 64 entries. Apparently the same person as Mathurānātha Śukla, a native of Pāṭaliputra in Mālava, who wrote at Benares

in 1783 A.D. the *Jyotiḥ-siddhānta-sāra* by order of prince Dalacandra (but see Aufrecht i 422-23). One Mathurānātha was also author of a comm. on *Kuvalayānanda*, and may have been the same person. Aufrecht i 715b.

(3) °*Vivṛti* by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, a native of Western Bengal, who dates his commentary in 1701 A. D. Aufrecht i 716a, ii 171a, iii 148a ; *Madras Cat.* 12969 ; *SCC* vii 50-52. Frequently printed with the text in Bengal editions. Also in N. S. P. ed. 1915.

(4) °*Prabhā* by Gopīnātha. *Madras Trm C* 712. Gopīnātha is also the author of the *Sumanomanoharā* comm. on Mammaṭa. See above p. 186. He is probably identical with Gopīnātha Kavirāja who composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* in 1677 A.D. (see Aufrecht i 163b).

XXV LATER WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

ŚĀRADĀTANAYA

Śāradātanaya, author of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* or *Bhāva-prakāśikā*, appears to have been a popular writer on the *rasas* and *bhāvas*, who is quoted extensively by Kumārasvāmin[1], and in the *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana[2], as well as by commentators like Raṅganātha[3] and Vāsudeva[4]. He is described as the son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, and great-grandson of Lakṣmaṇa of the Kāśyapa-gotra who is said to have been a resident of Māṭharapūjya village in the Merūttara country of the Āryāvarta, and to have written a commentary on the Vedas, called the *Veda-bhūṣaṇa*. The author was so named, because he was considered to have been born by the grace of Śāradā, worshipped in Benares. The author learnt *nāṭya-śāstra* from Divākara, and says that he is following Abhinavaguptācārya; but his work in some parts is in reality a condensed epitome chiefly of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, which it cites and practically summarises. This fact will place Śāradātanaya chronologically later than Bhoja; and the citation of the

1 pp. 12, 15, 44, 68, 102, 106, 118, 121, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145, 219, 223 etc.

2 e.g. on I 3. 30.

3 on *Vikramo°*, ed. N. S. P. 1885, p. 10.

4 on *Karpūra-mañj°*, ed. N. S. P. 1900, pp. 5, 7, etc.

Bhāva-prakāśa by Śiṅgabhūpāla (pp. 20, 139, 169, 202 etc) will fix its other terminus at 1330 A.D. We may, therefore, assign our author roughly to the period between 1100 and 1300 A.D.

Śāradātanaya cites Kohala, Mātṛgupta and Subandhu as writers on the dramatic art. The work consists of ten *adhikāras* as follows: 1 and 2 Bhāva 3 Avāntara-bhāvabheda-svarūpa 4 Śṛṅgārâlambana-nāyakâdi-svarūpa 5 Nāyaka-bhedâvastha-rasa-bhāva-vikāra 6 Śabdârtha-saṃbandha-bheda-prakāra 7 Nāṭyêtivṛttâdi-lakṣaṇa 8 Daśarūpaka-lakṣaṇa 9 Nṛtya-bheda-svarūpa-lakṣaṇa 10 Nāṭya-prayoga-bheda-prakāra.

MSS. *Madras Cat.* 13010 (extract). Also noticed in the *Rept. of the Peripatetic Party of the Madras Oriental Library* 1916-19. A *Bhāvaprakāśikā-vyākhyā* is entered in Peterson iv App. p. 18, no. 514 (incomplete). Also see Aufrecht i 407b, ii 93a and 93b.

(2)

ŚIṄGABHŪPĀLA

Śiṅgabhūpāla, whose name is also given as Śiṅgadharaṇîśa, Śiṅgarāja or Śiṅgamahīpati (as well as in the Sanskrit forms of these name) has been identified by Śeṣagiri Śāstrī with Siṅgama Nāyaḍu, rājā of Veṅkaṭagiri, who ruled, on the authority of a biographical sketch of the Rājās of Veṅkaṭagiri, at about 1330 A.D[1]. This date is probable, as Mallinātha (on *Kumāra* i 25, *iti bhūpālaḥ = Rasârṇa*° i 181),

1 For details see *ŚgŚ* i pp. 7-11, also introd. to Trivandrum ed. of the *Rasârṇava*°.

as well as Kumārasvāmin, quotes our author. The introductory verses of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, attributed to this South Indian prince, show that he belonged to the Recarla dynasty, who ruled over the country lying between the Vindhyas and Śrīśaila, of which Rājâcalam (Rācakoṇḍa) was the hereditary capital. He was the son of Ananta (or Anapota) and Annamāmbā, while his grandfather and great-grandfather were respectively named Śiṅgaprabhu (or Śiṅgama Nāyaka) and Yācama Nāyaka. Our author was, like Hemacandra, called *sarvajña* on account of his great knowledge, and was a patron of letters[1].

The *Rasārṇava*° appears to be mainly based on previous works like Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśa*, although it draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhaṭṭa, the *Daśarūpaka* and other authors and works on *rasa* and dramaturgy. The author Śiṅgabhūpāla is in the third person throughout the work. We have a large number of dramas actually quoted or cited for illustration, among which may be noted *Anargha-rāghava* (pp. 72, 83, 261, 266, 274), *Prasanna-rāghava* (pp. 258, 277), *Dhanañjaya-vijaya-vyāyoga*[2] (p. 287) *Abhirāma-rāghava*[3] (*anapota-nāyakīya* pp. 119, 243, 265, 273,

1 *ŚgŚ loc. cit.* p. 9. A poem in 8 cantos called *Camatkāra-candrikā* or *Siṃhabhūpāla-kīrti-sudhā-sāra-śītalā* was written, with a view to illustrate the principles of rhetoric, by Viśveśvara Kavicandra, panegyrising our prince who is called here *sarvajña*. (*IOC* vii p. 1507).

2 By Kāñcana, son of Nārāyaṇa, in Aufrecht i 266b (ed. Kāvyamālā 54, 1895).

3 A drama of this name was written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (Lévi 268).

275), *Mādhavī-vīthikā* (p. 290), *Māyākuraṅgikā-ihāmṛga* (p. 298), *Padmāvatī* (pp. 263, 266), *Kāma-datta*[1] (p. 285), *Rāmānanda* (pp. 248, 255, 269), *Karuṇākandala-aṅka* (pp. 163, 197, 198, 286), *Vīrabhadra-vijṛmbhaṇa-ḍima* (pp. 272, 274, 276, 278, 298), *Maheśvarānanda* (p. 275), *Ānandakoṣa-prahasana* (pp. 40, 41, 278, 291, 297), *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa*[2] (p. 288), *Payodhimathana-samavakāra* (p. 290), *Kandarpa-sarvasva* by himself (p. 151), *Vīrānanda* (pp. 159, 160) and *Prabodha-candrôdaya* (pp. 265, 291).

Śiṅgabhūpāla also appears to have written a *Nāṭaka-paribhāṣā*, which topic is also treated briefly at the end of his *Rasârṇava*°. The works of Śiṅgabhūpāla and Śāradātanaya deal incidentally with Dramaturgy.

Editions. *Rasârṇava*°. (1) by Sarasvatīśeṣa Śāstrī, Venkatagiri 1895 (2) by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1916.

MSS. *Rasârṇava*°. Aufrecht i 497a, ii 116b, iii 106a; *Madras Trm B* 369, p. 507 (c), 402 (b), *C* 667; *Madras Cat.* 12945-49; *ŚgŚ* i 56, p. 91. The *Śiṅgabhūpālīya Alaṃkāra* in Rice 288 and Oppert i 2462, ii 2104 probably means this work. *Nāṭaka-paribhāṣā* in Aufrecht i 284b, 791a.

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1 This little known work is also alluded to in the *Padma-prābhṛtaka-bhāṇa* (ed. Madras 1922), ascribed to Śūdraka. According to the editors of this bhāṇa (Pref. p. iv), the *Kāma-datta* was a *prakarṇa* composed by Śūdraka himself. This *bhāṇa* is quoted anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 198, l. 12).

2 A *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa* by Gopālarāya, son of Jakkula Veṅkṭendra and Vīranāmbā, is mentioned in Hultzsch i extract p. 77 (no. 385), also p. x.

(3)

BHĀNUDATTA

Bhānudatta[1] is notable for his two popular works on the subject of *nāyaka-nāyikā* and the *rasas*, called the *Rasa-mañjarī* and the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. In the latter work, the author excuses himself[2] from giving further details about a certain point, because, he says, they are already given in his *Rasa-mañjarī*, which was, therefore, the earlier composition. Besides some verses from Bharata and Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* and a verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*[3], Bhānudatta cites a work called the *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*[4], which is apparently the same work as quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mammaṭa[5]. These citations, however, give us no clue to his exact date.

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1 The form Bhānukara of this name is given by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi's °*Parimala*, Gopāla's °*Vikāsa* and Raṅgaśāyin's °*Āmoda* commentaries. The title *miśra* is also appended sometimes to the name.

2 *bahavo bhedāś ca rasamañjaryāṃ viśeṣato darśitāḥ, iha punar vistara-bhiyā na pradarśyanta iti*, ed. Granthamālā, p. 35 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 57, l. 32.

3 The verse *anaucityād ṛte* in *Dhva*° p. 145 is cited with the remark *tatra prācīna-granthakṛtaḥ*, implying that Bhānu was much younger than Ānandavardhana, in whose *vṛtti* the verse occurs.

4 in *Rasa-taraṅg*° ed. Granthamālā *ad* i 31, ed. Regnaud, p. 44, l. 32.

5 Peterson ii 17. An incomplete MS of a work called by this name is entered in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533,

A lyrical poem, called the *Gīta-gaurīśa* or *Gīta-gaurīpati* in ten cantos, published in the Granthamālā 1887-88, also professes to have been composed by Bhānudatta, who is probably identical with our author[1]. As indicated by their respective writings, both the authors are *śaivas*, and both possess poetical pretensions. Our Bhānudatta gives the name of his father as Gaṇeśvara[2], Gaṇapatinātha[3] or Gaṇanātha[4], while the author of the lyric describes himself as the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha[5]. There are also a few verses in the two works of our Bhānudatta which also occur in the lyric. Thus the *maṅgala*-verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī* (*ātmīyaṃ caraṇam*) = *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii p. 90; *akaroḥ kimu netra*° in *Rasa-mañjarī* 51 = *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii p. 14; *prāṇeśasya prabhavati* in *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* iv p. 40 ed. Granthamālā = *Gītā-gaurīśa* ii p. 77. As the *Gīta-gaurīśa* is not a mere compilation in which we may expect verses from other writers, the presence of verses in it from the two

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where the name of the author is given as Allarāja, which occurs as Mallarāja in Bühler *Rep.* 1874-75, no. 19, p. 16.

1 Aufrecht apparently distinguished the two authors at first by separate entries under their name (i 405), but later on (i 793) he states that the author of the lyric "is most likely identical with the writer of the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*." (MS described in *IOC* vii pp. 1443-45).

2 *Rasa-mañj*°. 168.

3 *Rasa-taraṅg*° ed Regnaud p. 66, col.; also Weber 824.

4 in MSS of *Rasa-taraṅg*° noticed in *ALeip* 835, Weber 1726.

5 *kavi-gaṇanātha-sutasya kaver iti vacanaṃ tri-jagati dhanyam*, ii p. 50; *kṛta-hara-vinayo gaṇapati-tanayo nigadati hita-kāraṇam* ii p. 58.

works of Bhānudatta can be reasonably explained by a presumption of common authorship of the three works.

The *Gīta-gaurīśa* appears to have been modelled on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which, like Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, gave birth to numerous imitations in later times[1]. Even a cursory examination of these two works will show the close connexion between them; and it is remarkable that not only the general scheme, but even the verses in some chapters of Bhānudatta's poem correspond in metre with those of Jayadeva's. Thus

Jayadeva

pralaya-payodhi-jale dhṛtavān asi vedam
vihita-vahitra-caritram akhedam
keśava dhṛta-mīnaśarīra, jaya jagadīśa hare

and Bhānudatta

bhramsi jāgati sakale pratilavam aviśeṣam
śamayitum iva jana-khedam aśeṣam
purahara kṛta-māruta-veṣa, jaya bhuvanādhipate.

Again, Jayadeva

nibhṛta-nikuñja-gṛhaṃ gatayā niśi rahasi nilīya vasantam

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1 e.g. the *Gīta-gaṅgādhara* by Kālyaṇa, the *Gīta-girīśa* by Rāma, the *Gīta-digambara* by Vaṃśamaṇi (*HPS* i 18) the *Gīta-rāghava* by Prabhākara, son of Bhūdhara, dated *saṃvat* 1674 (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83 p. 9). A *Gīta-rāghava* by Hariśaṃkara is mentioned in *HPS* ii no. 53. See also *Rāma-gīta-govinda* (*IOC* vii p. 1480) characterised by Eggeling as "a weak imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*" but attributed to Jayadeva. Eggeling quotes from Garcin de Tassy about such passing off of imitations of *Gīta-govinda* for that of Jayadeva. Cf Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* p. 23.

cakita-vilokita-sakala-diśā rati-rabhasa-rasena hasantam
sakhi he keśi-mathanam udāram
ramaya mayā saha madana-manoratha-bhavitayā savikāram

and Bhānudatta

abhinava-yauvana-bhūṣitayā dara-taralita-locana-tāram
kiñcid-udañcita-vihasitayā calal-avirala-pulaka-vikāsam
sakhi he śaṅkaram udita-vilāsam
saha saṅgamaya mayā natayā rati-kautuka-darśita-hāsam.

These two extracts, taken at random, will show how close the imitation is. We may presume reasonably from this that Bhānudatta's work was written some time after Jayadeva's lyric had achieved sufficient literary reputation to be thus imitated. Whether we place Jayadeva in the first or second half of the 12th century, Bhānudatta cannot be put earlier than that century, and this conclusion gives us one terminus to his date.

The other terminus is furnished by the date of one the commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī*, called the *Rasamañjarī-vikāsa* (or *vilāsa*) by Gopāla (*alias* Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha, which is expressly dated in 1428 A.D.[1] In the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*,

1 Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 63, corrected at p. 421, also p. 273. As to the date of this commentary and the era used, see below Bibliography.—Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, quotes (p. 280) the authority of a work called *Rasa-mañjarī* to show that *viraha-vipralambha* is also termed

which was compiled about 1363 A.D., several verses are cited under the name of one Bhānu-paṇḍita (790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328, 3685), none of which, however, can be traced in the known works of our author. Jalhaṇa whose anthology was compiled about the middle of the 13th century, also quotes and ascribes to a Vaidya-bhānu-paṇḍita as many as 18 verses, which are similarly untraceable, but two of which are also to be found under the same citation in the *Paddhati* (973 = 48a and 3328 = 95a). It may, however, be presumed that the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī* was not unknown at this period, and that in the anthologies the epithets *vaidya* and *paṇḍita* were annexed to an earlier or later Bhānu in order to distinguish him from our author, whose namesake he was[1]. If this inference is permissible, then we may place Bhānudatta earlier than the middle of the 14th century, but later than the 12th, a closer approximation than which cannot at present be made.

In the last verse of the *Rasa mañjarī*, Bhānudatta's native country is given as Videha (*videhbhūḥ*)[2] or

praṇaya-mīna. It is not clear whether the reference is to Bhānudatta, for the dictum cannot be traced in his *Rasa-mañjarī.*

1 In the *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* of Govindaji (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxiii) we have selections from the poems of Bhānukara and Bhānu-paṇḍita, by which obviously a distinction, such as that apparently made by the compiler of the *Paddhati*, is meant between the two poets.

2 In Madras ed. of 1872, as well as in the MS noticed by Aufrecht (*Bod. Cat.* 213b) and Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84 p. 12), the reading is *vidarbhabhūḥ*, which is a mislection ;

Mithilā, which agrees with Burnell's description of Bhānudatta as a native of Mithilā. As a Maithilī writer, it is not surpising that he was acquainted with the Gauḍīya Jayadeva's well-known lyric, and tried to emulate it with a similar work on Śiva and Gaurī. In another work called *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*[1] attributed to Bhānudatta, the author is called the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha (apparently the same as our author), and his pedigree is given thus: Ratneśvara→ Sureśvara (author of *Śārīraka-bhāṣya-vārttika*)→ Viśvanātha→Ravinātha→Bhavanātha→Mahādeva→ Gaṇapati→Bhānudatta. Gaṇapati appears to have been a poet whose verses are quoted by Bhānudatta himself in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. One poet Gaṇapati is praised, in a verse ascribed to one Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's anthology, as the author of the *Mahāmoda*. An *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* in five chapters and a *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* are also attributed appparently to our Bhānudatta.

The commentaries on the two works of Bhānudatta, as detailed below, are numerous. Of these, the *Naukā* on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, and the *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* and ⁰*Prakāśa* on *Rasa-mañjarī* by Ananta Paṇḍita and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa respectively have been published.

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for the author represents the river Ganges as flowing through his country, which is true of Videha and not of Vidarbha. Cf Weber ii no. 1726. The title *miśra*, often appended to Bhānudatta's name, may indicate that he was a Maithilī Brāhmaṇa, and that he was probably *not* a *vaidya*.

1 Aufrecht i 405, iii 88. See *IOC* vii p. 1540.

Rasa-mañjarī

Editions. (1) Madras 1872, 1881 (2) with Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Ananta Paṇḍita and °Prakāśa of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, Benares Sansk. Series 83, 1904 (3) by Veṅkaṭācārya Śāstrī Madras 1909. Our references are to the Benares ed.

MSS. Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a; *KBod* 507; *SCB* 684, 990, 1985; *Madras Trm. C* 680; *Madras Cat.* 12933-40: *SCC* 280.

Commentaries. (1) *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Ananta Paṇḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita (Timaji) and grandson of Bālo Paṇḍita, and great-grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha-paṇḍita. His native place is Puṇyastambha (Puntambem in Ahmednagar) on the Godāvarī. The comm. was written at Benares in *saṃvat* 1692 = 1636 A.D., at the request of Candrabhānu, son of Vīrasenadeva and grandson of Madhukara. The date of composition is specified in the concluding verse which is given in the India Office MS (Eggeling *IOC* iii p. 365), but omitted in the printed text. Ananta also wrote a *Mudrārākṣasa-pūrvapīṭhikā* (Mitra 1654), and a commentary on *Govardhana-saptaśatī* in 1645 A.D. (ed. Kāvyamālā 1). MSS: Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a; *SCB* 2238; *Madras Trm A* 1132: *Madras Cat.* 12943-44.

(2) °*Prakāśa* by Nāgoji or Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, for whom see under Jagannātha. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a.

(3) °*Parimala* by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha who wrote before 1675 A.D. Cintāmaṇi also wrote several other works including one on Prosody (Aufrecht 189a). MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a.

(4) °*Vikāsa* (or °*Vilāsa*) by Gopāla Ācārya, *alias* Vopadeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of

Nṛsiṃha and grandson of Gopāla of Jabala-grāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country, and pupil of Meṅga-nātha. The comm. is dated in *saṃvat* 1484 = 1428 A.D. MSS: Aufrecht ii 116a: *SCB* 1986. Śrīdhara Bhandarkar points out (*Rep. of Second Tour* 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273), but he thinks that it is *śaka* era, in which case the date of the commentary will be 1572 A.D.

(5) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. He also wrote a comm. on Rudra's *Śṛṅg.til.* There is also a commentator of the same name on Mammaṭa. They may be all be identical. See above pp. 101, 186. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, iii 106a. The commentary by Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa in *Oudh Cat.* xi 10 is probably a mistake for this comm. of his son. For Gopāla's other works see Aufrecht i 161.

(6) *Samañjasā* or *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara, for the whom see the chapter on Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, iii 106a.

(7) °*Āmoda* by Raṅgaśāyin *alias* Gurijāla-śāyin, who is said to have studied under Mahādeśika of Bādhūla-gotra and under his own paternal uncle Anantācārya, and who is described as the son of Dharmācārya of Cilukamari family. MSS: Oppert 3758; *Madras Cat.* 12941-42 (extract); *Madras Trm A* 802.

(8) *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpikā* by Ānanda Śarman, son of Tryambaka. Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a.

(9) *Bhānu-bhāva-prakāśinī* by Mahādeva. *Madras Trm C* 680.

(10) *Rasika-rañjana* by Vrajarāja Dīkṣita, son of Kāmarāja and father of Jīvarāja. *North Western Pov. Cat.* 1877-86, ii 120. See below

under Jīvarāja's comm. on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* Burnell wrongly enters *Rasikarañjana* as a commentary by "the author of the text."

(11) *Rasamañjarī-sthūla-tātparyârtha*. *IOC* 543.

Rasa-taraṅgiṇī

Editions. (1) with Naukā of Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, Benares 1885 (2) Granthamālā ii 1887-88 (3) by Regnaud in his *Rhétorique Sanskrite*, Paris 1884.

MSS. Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b, 220a, iii 106a; *SCC* vii 39, 40, 41; *KBod* 506; *WBod* 1160; *SCB* 431, 991; *Madras Cat.* 12928-29. The *Nava-rasa-taraṅgiṇī* in Oppert ii 3176 is apparently this work.

Commentaries. (1) °*Naukā* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi or Jaḍin. *Madras Cat.* 12930 (extract)-31. This commentary is dated in 1732 A.D. Gaṅgārāma is also the author of an independent work called *Rasa-mīmāṃsā* (ed. with Chāyā, Benares 1885), in which he refers to his *Naukā*. He was the son of Nārāyaṇa, and pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha, and also wrote two works on logic (see Aufrecht i 140). See on Minor Writers below.

(2) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Veṇīdatta Tarka-vāgîśa Bhaṭṭâcārya, son of Vīreśvara and grandson of Lakṣmaṇa. His commentary is dated in 1553 A.D. Veṇīdatta also wrote an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-candrôdaya*. See under Minor Writers. MSS: Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b 220a, iii 106a.

(3) °*Setu* or °*Setubandha* by Jīvarāja, son of Vrajarāja Dīkṣita (see above under *Rasa-mañjarī*). MSS: Aufrecht i 494b, ii 220a, iii 106a. The *Rasa-setu* in Aufrecht i 494b is probably the same commentary. He was the great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dīkṣita (q. v. under Minor Writers), who lived in the latter part of the 17th century.

(4) *Rasôdadhi* by Gaṇeśa. Aufrecht i 494b.

(5) *Rasôdadhi* by Mahādeva. Aufrecht i 494b.

(6) *Sāhitya-sudhā* or *Kāvya-sudhā* by Nemiśāha, son of Bhīmaśāha, described as *mahārājâdhirāja*. Aufrecht i 494b, iii 106a.

(7) *Nūtana-tarī* by Bhagavadbhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 494b.

(8) Comm. by Ayodhyāprasāda. Aufrecht i 494b. The author also commented on the *Vṛtta-ratnâkara*.

(9) Comm. by Dinakara or Dinākara. Aufrecht ii 118b.

A commentary by Bhānudatta in Aufrecht i 494b is probably a mistake.

Alaṃkāra-tilaka

Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, iii 7b. The name of the author is given as Bhānukara in Burnell 54a and Bhau Daji Catalogue. The work is in five paricchedas (Peterson vi App. p. 29).

Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā.

Aufrecht i 661a. (= *Oudh Cat.* iii 12).

(4)

Following upon these, we have innumerable works of a similar nature, which take *rasa*, especially *śṛṅgāra*, as its principal theme, and which were composed apparently with the purpose of guiding the poet with rules and illustrations in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit literature. The most important of these works and their authors will be mentioned in the chapter

on Minor Writers. Some Vaiṣṇava authors, like Rūpa-gosvāmin, however, attempt to bring *vaiṣṇava* ideas to bear upon the general theme of poetic or dramatic *rasa*, and we shall, for convenience of treatment, take them in a group here.

RŪPA AND JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kumāra and grandson of Mukunda, is the author of numerous *vaiṣṇava* works, including the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. He is well known as a contemporary of Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, and must have, therefore, flourished towards the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. This date is confirmed by the dates which some of his works bear. His *Vidagdha-mādhava* was composed in 1533 A.D.[1]; while his *Utkalikā-vallarī* is dated in 1550 A.D.[2].

The commentary *Locana-rocanī* was composed by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, son of his brother Vallabha[3]. A tradition in Bengal gives *śaka* 1445

1 incorrectly given by Aufrecht as 1549 at i 572 (*Cat. Bod.* 145a), but corrected by himself at ii 126, 135.

2 Mitra 3278.

3 Eggeling (*IOC* ii 358) and Haraprasāda Śāstrī (*Notices* i 33) ascribe it erroneously to Rūpa's brother Sanātana Gosvāmin and Vallabha respectively, a mistake which is prepetuated by Aufrecht i 62a, iii 14b. A similar confusion is made in Mitra ii p. 36, where the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* itself is ascribed to Jīva Gosvāmin (H. P. Śāstrī i no. 32). In the same way, the authorship of the *Stava-mālā* has been variously attributed to Rūpa, Jīva (*Proc. ASB* 1865 p. 138) and Sanātana (Kāśīnātha Kunte, *Rep.* p. 32).

(= 1523 A.D.), and *śaka* 1540 (= 1618 A.D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively.

Rūpa Gosvāmin also appears to have written a treatise on Dramaturgy called *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, which is quoted in the commentary on the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and in the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī*. At the commencement of this work, Rūpa Gosvāmin states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and *Rasa-sudhākara* (the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅgabhūpāla ?), and rejected generally (i 2) the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. The topics dealt with are (1) general characteristics of a drama (2) the hero (nāyaka) (3) the divisions of a rūpaka (nāndī etc) (4) elements in the action (sandhi, patākā etc) and their classification (5) arthôpakṣepaka and its divisions (viṣkambhaka etc) (6) division of acts and scenes (7) distribution of dialects (bhāṣāvidhāna) (8) styles of dramatic composition (vṛtti) and their employment according to the *rasa* intended. The work is not a small one, and the illustrations, taken mostly from Vaiṣṇava works, are fairly minute and numerous. In his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* he gives illustrative verses from most of his own poetical and dramatic productions, such as *Uddhava-dūta*, *Vidagdha-mādhava*, *Dānakeli-kaumudī* and other works[1]. A *Rasāmṛta-śeṣa* is also attributed to Rūpa.

VIŚVANĀTHA CAKRAVARTIN

Viśvanātha Cakravartin, who wrote the commentary, called *Ānanda-candrikā* or *Ujjvala-nilamaṇi-kiraṇa*, lived at end of the 17th and the beginning

1 For a list of his works see Aufrecht i 533.

of the 18th century; for he composed a commentary called *Sārārtha-darśinī* on the *Bhāgavata* in *śaka* 1626 = 1704 A.D., while his *Ānanda-candrikā* is also dated in *śaka* 1618 = 1696 A.D. He also wrote, besides several *vaiṣṇava* works, a commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, mentioned below.

KAVIKARṆAPŪRA

Kavikarṇapūra, *alias* Paramānanda-dāsa Sena, described as the son of Śivānanda Sena and pupil of Śrīnātha, wrote a work called *Alaṃkāra kaustubha*. The author was a well-known Vaiṣṇava of Bengal belonging to the Vaidya family, and wrote several *vaiṣṇava* works. His drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed in *śaka* 1494 = 1572 A.D.[1], and his father Śivānanda was a disciple of Caitanya-deva. Mitra in his introduction to his edition of the drama (p. vi) says that Kavikarṇapūra was born in 1524 A.D. at Kāñcanapallī (Kañcḍāpāḍā) in Nadīyā. His *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* was composed in 1576 A.D[2]. The *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* is composed

1 The date is given in the verse: *śāke caturdaśa-śate ravi vāji-yukte | gauro harir dharaṇi-maṇḍala āvirāsit | tasmin catur-navati-bhāji tadīya-līlā-| grantho' yam āvirabhavat katamasya vaktrāt*, which tells us that Gaura-hari or Caitanya was born in *śaka* 1407, and that the drama, which deals with him, was written in *śaka* 1494. Aufrecht is incorrect in stating that it was composed in 1543 A.D. (But see Sten Konow *Ind. Drama* p. 93, section 104).

2 *HPS* ii p. 50, as well as *ALeip* 721, reads *śāke vasu-graha-mite* which gives 1576 or 1577 A.D: but *IOC* no. 2510 reads *śāke rasārasa-mite* which would give 1540 A.D.

in ten *kiraṇas*, as follows: 1 Kāvya-lakṣaṇa 2 Śabdârtha 3 Dhvani 4 Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya 5 Rasa-bhāva-tadbheda 6 Guṇa 7 Śabdâlaṃkāra. 8 Arthâlaṃkāra 9 Rīti 10 Doṣa[1]. It is thus a more comprehensive work than Rūpa Gosvāmin's and the vaiṣṇavite proclivities are not so prominent; but most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the subject-matter follows the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in treatment. The commentaries on this work are noticed below.

KAVICANDRA

Kavicandra, described as the son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, and father of Kavibhūṣaṇa and Kavi-vallabha, is perhaps the same as the poet quoted in the anthology called the *Padyâvalī*[2]. He wrote, among other works, a *Kāvya-candrikā* in 16 *prakāśas* dealing with (1) kāvyalakṣaṇa (2) śabda-śakti (3) rasa (4) bhāva (5) rasabheda (6) rasâbhāsa (7) kāvya-bheda (8) pramā-ṇanirūpaṇa (9) rīti (10) guṇa (11) śabdâlaṃkāra (12)

1 For a detailed résumé of its contents see Mitra 1662.

2 *IOC* vii p. 1534, at p. 1535. The verse quoted from Kavicandra's work in *ABod* 212a says that the author was a *bhiṣak* son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, and grandson of Vidyā-viśārada. The colophon says that he belonged to the Datta family, and lived in the Dīrghāṅka village *iti dīrghâṅka-grāma-nivāsi-dattakulôdbhava-vaidya-śrī-kavi-candra-viracitāyām* etc. It is not clear whether Kavikarṇa-pūra, author of the *Caitanya-candrôdaya*, is identical with Kavikarṇapūra, father of Kavicandra. If it is so, then this colophon is not intelligible. The *Padyâvali*, which is said to have been compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, certainly belongs to a date earlier than 1541 A.D., when it is quoted in Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasâmṛta- sindhu*.

arthâlamkāra (13) doṣa (14) kavitôpāya (15) nāṭya[1]. He quotes, besides older authors, the *Kavikalpalatā*, the *Sāhitya darpaṇa*, the *Rāmacandra-campū*, the *Śānti-candrikā*, the *Stavāvalī*, and an author called Puruṣottama, as well as two of his own work *Sāra-laharī* and *Dhātu-candrikā*. He flourished probably at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century[2].

Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi

Editions. (1) with Locana-rocanī of Jīva Gosvāmin. Murshidabad, 1889 (2) with the same and with the comm. of Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Kāvyamālā 95, 1913 (our references are to this edition).

MSS. Aufrecht i 62, ii 12a, 190b, iii 14b; *SCC* vii 6.

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-rocanī* by Jīva Gosvāmin, often confused with Sanātana Gosvāmin. Aufrecht i 62a, iii 14b; *HPS* i 33; *SCC* vii 6. Published with the text.

(2) *Ānanda-candrikā* or °*Kiraṇa* by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 62a. Published in Kāvya-mālā ed. of the text. The comm. °*Kiraṇa-leśa* in

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If the Kavicandra cited in the anthology is the same as our author, there will be chronological difficulties in making him son of Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, who was a probable contemporary of Rūpa's and is himself quoted in the same anthology.

1 Aufrecht's Bodleian MS contains eight *prakāśas* named after the first eight topics given here: but our enumeration follows the India Office MS. Cf Regnaud p. 377.

2 Aufrecht mentions (i 16b) a *Cikitsā-ratnâvalī* (*IOC* 704) by Kavicandra composed in 1661 A.D. with a query as to the date. For his other works see Aufrecht i 87a.

Mitra 580 (also in *SCC* vii 5, Kathvate *Rep.* 1891-95, 318) is probably this commentary.

(3) *Āgama-candrikā* and *Ātmaprabodhikā*. Aufrecht i 62a.

(4) An anonymous °*ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii 3.

Nāṭaka-candrikā

Edition. Rāsavihāri Saṃkhya tīrtha, with a Bengali trans. (in Bengali character), Kashimbazar 1907. MSS: Aufrecht i 284b, ii 61b, 207b. Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* 1061 and Mitra 3160; *Madras Cat.* 12900.

Rasāmṛtaśeṣa

Aufrecht ii 220b.

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha

Edition. with the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Murshidabad 1899.

MSS. Aufrecht i 31b, ii 188a, iii 7b; *KBod* 492-94; *SCC* vii 60.

Commentaries. (1) *Sārabodhinī* by Viśvanatha Cakravartin, Anfrecht iii 7b. Published with the text.

(2) °*Kiraṇa* by himself (?). *ABod* 209b, Ulwar 1034.

(3) °*Dīdhiti-prakāśikā* by Vṛndābana-candra Tarkālaṃkāra Cakravartin, son of Rādhācaraṇa Kavîndra Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 31b.

(4) °*ṭīkā* by Lokanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 31b.

Kāvya-candrikā

MSS: Aufrecht i 101a; *KBod* 499.

XXVI KESAVA MISRA AND SAUDDHODANI

(1)

Keśava himself tells us that he composed his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* at the request of a ruling chief named Māṇikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra and grandson of Rāmacandra, who is said to have ruled near Dilli (Dhilli) and defeated the king of Kābila (Kabul ?). Eggeling[1] is obviously wrong in identifying him with Māṇikyacandra of Tirabhukti or Tirhut; while Bühler[2] did not go further than suggesting that this prince was not a Kashmirian but ruled or lived in Delhi just before the Muhammadan conquest. The patron of our author, however, appears to be Māṇikyacandra of Koṭ-kāṅgra, whose genealogy corresponds to that given by Keśava and whose date of accession, according to Cunningham[3], is 1563 A.D. The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore, be fixed in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

The *kārikā*-portion of the *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, called here *sūtra*, is declared to have been based on,

1 *IOC* no. 1197.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 69.

3 *Arch. Survey* v. 152f, at p. 160. (cf *JASB*, 1907, p. 212).

if not actually taken from, some lost work of an authority who is cited as *bhagavān* (or *maharṣi* p. 50) Śauddhodani, Keśava himself apparently assuming the modest role of a commentator or interpeter in the running prose-*vṛtti*. The name Śauddhodani, apparently Buddhistic, is otherwise unknown in Alaṃkāra-literature[1]. Whatever may be the original source of his work, Keśava shows himself conversant with the works of most of his predecessors, and quotes, among more recent writers, Rājaśekhara (pp. 32, 67), Bhoja, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, the *Vāg-bhaṭâlaṃkāra* and Deveśvara. He also quotes one Śrīpāda (pp. 4, 5, 6, 23, 27, 32, 51), who may be his master Śauddhodani himself designated by this honorific term, as well as the author of a *Kavi-kalpalatā* who is described as a follower of this Śrīpāda[2]. This Kavi-kalpalatā-kāra, however, is neither Deveśvara nor Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, whose works also bear a similar title. The passage cited by Keśava in this connexion (pp. 48-9, *veṇyāḥ sarpâsi-bhṛṅgâlyo* etc.) gives a list of more or less conventional words useful for the purpose of conveying a simile or metaphor. A comparison of an almost similar passage in Deveśvara (p. 157f), who copies it directly from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (pp. 135f), will show enough verbal discrepancy to

1 This Śauddhodani should not be identified with the Śauddhodani mentioned in the *maṅgala*-verse (where it apparently stands for the name of Buddha) of the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri.

2 *śrīpāda-matânusārī-kavikalpalatā-kāraḥ* p. 48 ed. Kāvyamālā.

indicate that neither of these sources constitutes the original from which Keśava quotes. A similar discrepancy is also noticeable in another passage of Keśava's (*ratnāni yatra tatrādrau* etc. pp. 55-6), which at first sight will seem to have been borrowed from Deveśvara (p. 36f) who, however, copies it almost literally from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (p. 30f). At the same time, Keśava betrays otherwise an acquaintance with Deveśvara's text, from which he reproduces at least one long passage anonymously (*nṛpe kīrti-pratāpājñā* etc. p. 57f= Deveśvara p. 26f), which Deveśvara himself probably adapted from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (p. 27f); but it is curious that Keśava copies here the text of Deveśvara with its variations, rather than the original text of Arisiṃha and Amara on this point.

The opinions of a writer called Govardhana is frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also a reference to Jayadeva, *paṇḍita-kavi* (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva, who is said to have lived under Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal and who also calls himself Javadeva *paṇḍita-kavi* in his *Gīta-govinda* (xii p. 171)[1], then it is likely that Govardhana, who is quoted immediately before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the *Gīta-govinda*.

Keśava tells us that he had already composed

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1 The verse *unmīlan-madhu-gandha*° of the *Gīta-govinda* (ed. N. S. P. p. 29) is quoted anonymously by Keśava at p. 6, as an instance of the *gauḍī rīti*.

seven abstruse treatises on the subject before he undertook the composition of his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*. Two of these are apparently those which are mentioned in the text as his own under the citations *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (p. 9) and *Vākyaratna* (p. 12) or *Kāvyaratna* (p. 72). A *Kāvyaratna* is mentioned in Oppert ii 6237.

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Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā 50, 1895 (2) Gaṇeśa Śarman, Benares 1866. Our references are to the Kāvyamālā ed.

MSS. Aufrecht i 32b, ii 6b, 188a, iii 7b; *SCC* vii 4.

XXVII APPAYYA DIKSITA

(1)

Appayya Dīkṣita himself furnishes us with a clue to his date. He tells us at the end of his *Kuvalayānanda* that it was composed at the instance of a South Indian prince named Veṅkaṭa[1]. Aufrecht[2], and following him Eggeling[3], identify this patron of Appayya with Veṅkaṭa of Vijayanagara (about 1535 A.D.), while Hultzsch[4] shows that he was Veṅkaṭa I of Pennakoṇḍa, whose incriptions range from *śaka* 1508 to 1535 (=1586 to 1613 A.D.).[5] On the other hand, in the colphon to his *Śivādityamaṇi-dīpikā* (Hultzsch 1056), Appayya mentions as his patron a prince Cinnabomma, the son of Cinavīra and father of Liṅgamanāyaka. The inscriptions of this chief of Velur (Vellore in the North Arcot District) are dated

1 Cf also *śl* 168 (ed. N. S. P. 1913) which, though occurring also in the text of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, is probably one of Appayya's additions.

2 *Cat. Bod.* 213a. But in his *Cat. Cat.* i 22a and ii 5a, he assigns the dates, viz. end of the 15th and end of the 16th century respectively. Regnaud's conjecture (*Rhétorique Sansk.* p. 375) that Appayya flourished in reign of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara in 1520 A.D. is not correct.

3 *IOC* iii p. 335.

4 *Rep. of South Ind. Sansk. MSS* ii p. xiii and *EI* iv 271 (cf *JASB* 1907, p. 211).

5 *South Ind. Inscrip.* i p. 69f and p. 84.

in *śaka* 1471 and 1488 (=1549 and 1566 A.D.)[1]. The extreme limits, therefore, of Appayya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A.D. We may thus assign him to the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century, and as he was alive in the time of Veṅkaṭa I he may have lived into the beginning of the 17th century[2]. This date is confirmed by the fact that we find Appayya cited by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the first quarter of the 17th century and attacked by Jagannātha about the same time; while Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (a grandson of Appayya's brother), whose *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū* is dated in 1637 A.D., wrote a *Citramīmāṃsā-doṣa-dhikkāra*[3] apparently in vindication of Appayya's work of that name against Jagannātha's attack.

(2)

The correct form of the name is probably Appa or Apya Dīkṣita, which we find him himself using

1 *IA* xiii p. 155 and *EI* iii p. 238 Table.

2 He is said to have lived to the ripe old age of 73 (see introd. to Hālāsyanātha's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* p. 15), and according to Kṛṣṇamacārya (*Hist. of Classical Sansk. Lit.* Madras 1906, p. 104) Appayya lived from 1554 to 1626 A.D. Veṅkaṭa, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* and a grandson of Appayya, tells us that he hailed from Kāñci (or Conjeveram).

3 The *Doṣajitkāra* (?) by Cinna Appayya Dīkṣita in Oppert 4802 is probably a mistake for this work. Nīlakaṇṭha, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda Yogîndra and Veṅkaṭeśvara, was the son of Nārāyaṇa, and grandson of Apya (or Accha) who was Appayya's brother. For this work of his, see Hultzsch, *Rep.* ii p. 126, no. 1281 (up to *apahnuti-prakaraṇa*).

in his *Kuvalayânanda*, but it is variously spelt as Appaya and Appayya. A champion of Southern Śaivism he was a versatile and prolific writer, and tradition ascribes to him more than one hundered works, of which Aufrecht mentions nearly seventy. He was the son of Raṅgarāja (or Raṅgarājâdhvarin) and had a brother called Apya or Accha.

Appayya is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his three works, viz. the *Kuvalayânanda*, the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Vṛtti-vārttika*. Of these, the last seems to have been his earliest work, after which comes the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* which is referred to in his *Kuvalayânanda*. None of these works displays much originality; and we have seen that his *Kuvalayânanda* was directly based on Jayadeva's *Candrâloka*, up to the section on the figure *hetu*[1]. To the "one hundred" *alaṃkāras* of Jayadeva, Appayya, however, adds twenty-four[2], and this perhaps constitutes the largest number of such figures mentioned in any Alaṃkāra work, and forms the climax in the process of multiplying the poetic fignres with endless minute differenti ation. The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* is a more independent work; but it was probably left incomplete. In most

1 See above pp. 220-21

2 In the text of the *Kuvalayânanda-kārikā* with Āśādhara's commentary, which is translated by Schmidt and published in the N. S. P. 1909, the fourth chapter dealing with *śabdâlaṃkāras* is an interpolation, or rather mistaken incorporation into the text of Appayya of a chapter from Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭâcārya's *Kāvya-vilāsa* (*IOC* iii pp. 343-44), as the colophon at the end of that chapter itself shows. It well known that the ***Kuvalayânanda*** deals only with *arthâlaṃkāras*.

of the MSS[1], as well as in the printed texts[2], it goes up to the *atiśayôkti-prakaraṇa* and breaks off with the curious verse

apyardha-citramīmāṃsā na mude kasya māṃsalā
anūrur iva gharmāṃśor ardhêndur iva dhūrjaṭeḥ,

which, if authentic, implies that the work was designedly left incomplete. But in some MSS there is an additional verse, which gives a list of the figures to be dealt with (*pratipādyâlaṃkāra-sūcī*)[3], which ends with the mention of *utprekṣā*, and omits *atiśayôkti* which ought to come after it. The *Candrikā* commentary supports this tradition with the remark *utprekṣā-granthânantaram citramīmāṃsā na kvâpi dṛśyate*; but the commentary of Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala, includes and comments on the section on *atiśayôkti* coming thereafter. Appayya's own references to the *Citra mīmāṃsā* in *Kuvalayânanda* (pp. 78, 86, 133) relate to the treatment of the figures of *śleṣa*, *prastutâṅkura* and *arthântara-nyāsa*, which are wanting in the present-day text. Appayya's third work, the *Vṛtti-vārttika*, which is a short dissertation, after a work called *Kāvya-saraṇi*, on the

1 e.g. *IOC* iii p. 336, ends with *atiśayôkti* at fol. 72a; *Madras Trm A* 1104; *SgS* ii p. 82.

2 ed. Kāvyamālā 38, 1907. In the text published in the *Pandit* xiii, the work ends with *utprekṣā*, and the *atiśayôkti* is wanting.

3 *upamā sahôpameyôpamayâthānanvayaḥ smaraṇaṃ* / *rūpaka-pariṇati-saṃśaya-bhrāntimad-ullekha-nihnavôtprekṣāḥ.* This verse occurs at the end of the text printed in the *Pandit* and in the India Office MS referred to. The MS *kha* used in the Kāvyamālā ed. (see p. 101 fn.) ends with *utprekṣā*.

three functions of word and its sense, is also incomplete as it stands; for it consists only of two chapters on the two functions *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, and the third chapter which should deal with the third function *vyañjanā* is wanting[1].

(3)

Appayya's works appear to have started some controversies in his time. Thus Jagannātha, who flourished immediately after him, not only attacked Appayya in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and stigmatised him as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha, but also wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* to demolish Appayya's work of that name. Bhīmasena, in his commentary on Mammaṭa, also refers to a *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana* written by himself as an attack on Appayya's other work; and we find Nīlakaṇṭha, a descendant of Appayya's, apparently taking up the cudgel to defend the fair fame of his ancestor in his *Citramīmāṃsā-doṣa-dhikkāra*.

Among more recent writers and works cited by Appayya, we find the names of the Sāhityacintāmaṇikāra, Ratnākara, the *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* and the *Kāvya-saraṇi*, the last work (of which nothing is known) being avowedly the model or source of his *Vṛtti-vārttikā*. The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi*, also cited

1 Appayya was a very prolific writer who is reputed to have composed 104 works. For his works on Śaiva philosophy and other subjects, see Aufrecht; also *IA* xxvii (1898) p. 326f: Kṛṣṇamacārya *op. cit.* p. 168.

by Kumārasvāmin, is probably the work of the same name by Vīranārāyaṇa (q. v., about 1400 A.D.). The *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* is apparently the same work as cited by Kumārasvāmin at p. 44, but of this nothing is known. If the Ratnākara quoted in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 20 be the same as Ratnākara cited extensively by Jagannātha in his two works, then it refers to the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra, and should be distinguished from *Rasaratnākara* cited by Mallinātha on *Meghadūta*.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON APPAYYA

The popularity of the *Kuvalayânanda* as a convenient manual is indicated by the many commentaries on it, the more important ones of which have been published. The *Dīpikā* of the poet Āśādhara, son of Rāmaji and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara has been edited as well as translated. The *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Saṭpadânanda* of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa have not yet found an editor, but the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa, has been printed several times in Madras and elsewere. The more reliable commentary of Gaṅgādharâdhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin, son of Devasiṃha-sumati of Bādhūla-family and pupil of Viśvarūpa Yati of Benares, probably preserves the text and the Appayya-traditions better, inasmuch as the commentator tells us that Appayya was the teacher of a

brother of his grandfather, and he himself takes great pains to settle the readings of his text. Other less known commentaries are mentioned below.

The *Citramīmāṃsā* has been commented upon by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vaśiṣṭa-gotra and grandson of Ṭhākura, who had, besides the author's father, two other sons, named Puraṇadāsa and Devadāsa. The commentator was the disciple of Paramānanda and was born in Bharatapura. He wrote also a commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Madras Cat.* 12625).

No commentary on the *Vṛtti-vārttika* is known.

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Kuvalayânanda

Editions. *Text only* (1) Poona 1842 (2) Bombay 1895 (3) by Subrahmaṇya Śarman with Eng. trans. and notes, Calcutta 1903. *Text with commentaries.* (1) with Candrikā of Vaidyanātha, Poona 1846, 1849, Madras 1869, 1870, 1872, 1881, 1895, Calcutta, (Jīvānanda) 1870, 1874 etc., Benares 1878, 1910, Bombay (Vāsudeva) 1877, 1885, 1912, 1913 etc. (2) with the Rasikarañjanī of Gaṅgādhara, by Hālāsyanātha Śāstrī, Kumbhakonum 1892 (3) with Alaṃkāra-dīpikā of Āśādhara, by Vāsudeva, Bombay N. S. P., 1909; the same translated into German by R. Ṣchmidt, Berlin 1907. This enumeration is not exhaustive, as the work has been printed very often in India as a text-book Our references are to the N. S. P. ed. of 1913 by Vāsudeva, which contains also Vaidyanātha's Alaṃkāra-candrikā.

MSS. Aufrecht i 113a, 780a ii 22b, 194b; iii 25a. The entry *Kuvalayânanda-kārikā* refers to our text (the *kārikā* portion only) which is the subject of Āśādhara's commentary.

SCC vii 25-7; *WBod* 1161; *KBod* 505; *Madras Trm A* 192, *B* 510; *WRAS* 109, 127; *Madras Cat.* 12846-12860.

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat (see above). Published many times with the text. MSS: Aufrecht i 113a, 780a; ii 23a, 194b; iii 25a, *SCC* vii 1, 29; *Madras Cat.* 12862-67. Mitra (in *Bik. Cat.* p. 213, no. 607) gives an entirely wrong impression of this work as well as of its original.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* by Āśādhara. Printed by N. S. P. as above. MSS: Aufrecht i 113a, 780a; ii 23a. Āśādhara only comments on the *kārikās*, but he is not aware of Jayadeva's *Candrâloka*. Āśādhara also wrote *Kovidānanda* and its commentary (Aufrecht ii 25b). He should not be confused with Āśādhara who wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa (cf Aufrecht i 54b and ii 10b).

(3) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gaṅgādharâdhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. Printed from Kumbhakonum as above. MSS: Aufrecht i 113a (the attribution to Appayya himself is wrong, as corrected later), ii 22b: *Madras Trm A* 73, *B* 388, *C* 703; *Madras Cat.* 12868-70. This commentator describes Appayya as *asmat-pitāmaha-sahodara-deśikéndra*; but according to tradition the commentator lived under the Tanjore prince Śhāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). Also wrote some comms. on philosophical works.

(4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 113a (i.e. citing Kielhorn *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 98 and not p. 104), ii 23a. Nāgoji is also said to have written another commentary on *Kuvalay°* called *Satpadânanda*, or in full *Viṣama-pada-vyākhyana ṣaṭpadânanda*, Aufrecht i 113a, ii 23a, *SCC* viii 28. As its name indicates, the latter commentary probably deals only with difficult words and passages. The two commentaries are

often confused. In this last commentary, Nagoji refers to his °*Marma-prakāśa* on Jagannātha's work. Extracts of both in Stein pp. 270-271.

(5) *Kāvya-mañjarī* by Nyāyavāgîśa Bhaṭṭacārya (?). Aufrecht i 113a. Is he identical with Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgîśa, son of Vidyānidhi (q.v.) and author of the *Kāvya-candrikā*?

(6) Comm. by Mathurānātha. Aufrecht i 113a. See pp. 239-40.

(7) °*ṭippaṇa* by Kuravirāma referred to in the introductory verse of his comm. on the *Viśvaguṇâdarśa*, Hultzsch i extr. p. 57, no. 21. For the author see above p. 135. As Veṅkṭâdhvarin, author of the *Viśvaguṇâdarśa*, is known to be a grandson of Appayya's, Kuravirāma, who commented on this poem, could not have been earlier than the middle of the 17th century.

(8) *Laghvalaṃkāra-candrikā* by Devīdatta. *SCB* 830.

(9) *Budharañjanī* by Veṅgala Sūri. *Madras Trm. A* 1215: *Madras Cat.* 12874-75. This is really a comm. on the arthâlaṃkāra-section of *Candrâloka*, coextensive with the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayânanda*.

Citra-mīmāṃsā

Edition. (1) in the *Pandit* xiii, 1891 (2) Kāvyamālā 38, 1893, 1907 (our references are to the ed. of 1907).

MSS. Aufrecht i 187b; ii 38b, 200a; iii 40b. *Madras Cat.* 12879-83.

Commentaries. (1) *Sudhā* by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala. Aufrecht ii 38b; *Madras Cat.* 12884-86. (extract).

(2) *Gūḍhârtha-prakāśikā* by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa. Aufrecht ii 38b. He is also the author of an *Alaṃkāra-sāra*. See chapter on Minor Writers.

(3) *Citrâloka*. *SCB* 106.

Vṛtti-vārttika

Edition. (1) in the *Pandit* xii, 1890 (2) Kāvyamālā 36. 1893. Our references are to the Kāvyamālā ed. of 1910.

MSS. Aufrecht i 598a, ii 142b (first two chapters), 226b; iii 125 (two chapters).

XXVIII JAGANNATHA

In his *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, Jagannātha tells us[1] that he passed his youth under the patronage of the emperor of Delhi, from whom, we are told elsewhere, he received the title of Paṇḍitarāja[2]. This emperor seems to have been Shāh Jahān, whose son Dārā is eulogised in Jagannātha's *Jagadâbharaṇa*. He also seems to have lived under the protection of Nawāb Asaf *Khān* (d. 1641), a nobleman in the Court of Shāh Jahān, in whose praise he wrote his *Āsapha-vilāsa* and who is also referred to in a verse quoted in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (p. 166). In the latter work, there is also a reference in a verse (p. 521) to Nuradīna which is apparently the Sanskritised form of one of the names of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān's

1 *dillīvallabha-pāṇipallava-tale nītaṃ navīm vayaḥ*, ed. Granthamālā vol. iv *śl* 32. This verse is wanting in the N.S.P. ed. 1894. The Granthamālā text is published with the comm. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita who claims to be a grandson of Jagannātha himself.

2 See citation from *Āsapha-vilāsa* given in introd. to Kāvyamālā ed. of *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p.2 fn. ; also Nāgeśa on *Rasa-gaṅg°* p.3. The poet Paṇḍita-rāja, cited in the anthology *Padyâmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* of Hari-bhāskara, whose commentary on the *Vṛtta-ratnâkara* was composed in 1676 A.D. (Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1877-91, p. lxii and *Rep.* 1883-84. p. 60) is probably our author. There is also a commentator on Mammaṭa named Paṇḍitarāja (q.v.) who is different author. Aufrecht (ii 40a), making a confusion between the two, attributes the *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭīkā* our Jagannātha.

father. Shāh Jahān came to the throne in 1628 A.D., and was thrown into prison in 1658 A.D. It appears that while Jagannātha's younger days were passed under this emperor, Dārā-shikoh (d. 1659 A.D.) who came into power during the latter days of his father's reign, was his real patron. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Jagannātha's literary activity lay in the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa commented upon his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* in the beginning of 18th century, while Jagannātha himself attacks Appayya Dīkṣita who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

Jagannātha describes himselt as the son of Peru Bhaṭṭa[1] (or Perama Bhaṭṭa[2]) and Lakṣmī. He was, like Appayya, a South Indian writer, being a native of Tailaṅga[3] (Telegu country), and belonged to the Vegināḍa family [4]. His father was reputed for his learning, having been, as Jagannātha himself tells us[5], taught the Vedânta by Jñānendra-vikṣu, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika by Mahendra Paṇḍita, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā by Khaṇḍadeva and the *Mahābhāṣya* by Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Our author learnt these subject from his father, and also from one his father's teachers, Vīreśvara. Very little is known of his personal

1 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i 3

2 concluding verse to his *Prāṇâbharaṇa.*

3 *Prāṇâbharaṇa śl.* 52

4 colophon to *Bhāminī-vilāsa.*

5 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i 2.

history, although curious tales about his fondness for a Muhammadan woman, and his death by plunging into the sacred river Ganges have gathered round his name[1]. Jagannātha was also the author of several poetical works[2], besides writing the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, the latest yet not the least important work on Poetics, and the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*. He also wrote a grammatical work, directed against Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's famous commentary *Manoramā*, called *Manoramā-kuca-mardana*.

Both the rhetorical works of Jagannātha have been obtained incomplete. The printed editions of the texts of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* go up to the treatment of *uttarâlaṃkāra* and break off with an incomplete verse; and so do most MSS noticed in the various reports and catalogues. Nāgeśa or

1 Acyuta Rāya, whose *Sāhitya-sāra* is dated in 1831 A.D., discusses in his commentary on the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, the autobiographical significance of the lyrics in that work and of verses like *yavanī navanīta-komalâṅgī* often attributed to Jagannātha. See also L.R. Vaidya in the introd. to his ed. of the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*.

2 Some of these have been published by the N.S.P. For a list, see introd. to Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅg°* (Kāvyamālā ed.) and Aufrecht i 196b, and Kāvyamāla pt. i. p. 79. These are (1) Amṛta-laharī (Km pt. ii) (2) Āsapha-vilāsa, praise of Āsaph Khān (3) Karuṇālaharī (Km pt. ii) (4) Gaṅgā-laharī or Pīyūṣalaharī (5) Jagadâbharaṇa, praise of Dārā shāh (6) Prāṇâbharaṇa, praise of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (Km pt. ii) (7) Bhāminī-vilāsa (8) Manoramā-kuca-mardana, against Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Manoramā* (9) Yamunā-varṇana-campū (10) Lakṣmī-laharī (Km pt. ii) (11) Sudhā-laharī (Km pt. i). Of these nos. 3, 6 and 11 are quoted in the *Rasa-gaṅgā°* e.g. *śl* 60 = p. 36; *śl* 4 = p. 56; śl. 1 = p. 20.

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's commentary also ends with the same section. In conformity to a pun in the word *gaṅgādhara* in the title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five heads (*ānana*) or chapters, of which we have got only one complete and another incomplete chapter[1]. The *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, directed against Appayya's work of the same name, also goes as far as the *apahnuti*-section and does not deal with *utprekṣā* and *atiśaya* which are found in some MSS of the *Citramīmāṃsā*.

(3)

Of comparatively recent writers, Jagannātha, besides citing Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Jayaratha extensively, refers to and quotes Vidyādhara (p. 254), Vidyānātha (p. 162) Viśvanātha (and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 7) and Appayya, and refers very often to the *navyāḥ*. The scathing criticism which he levels aginst Appayya as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha was no doubt prompted by the zeal of eclipsing the fame of another South Indian writer in the same field. Jagannātha also cites Śrīvatsa-lāñchana (p. 39), apparently the commentator on Mammaṭa, an unknown Alaṃkārabhāṣya-kāra (pp. 239, 365, also referred to by Jayaratha), and Ratnākara (pp. 202, 207, 211, 221, 225, 281, 313, 480, 492 etc) which last name is also cited by

1 It cannot be be determined whether the work was completed : but it was certainly composed before Jagannātha wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, the second verse of which refers to the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*.

Appayya. Jagannātha also refers to a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara* (pp. 163, 165). An anonymous *Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara* is mentioned in Burnell 54a; but Bühler[1] describes a work of that name by Śobhākaramitra, son of Trayīśvaramitra. Peterson informs us [2] that the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracts some *sūtras* on Alaṃkāra[3] from a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara* by Śobhākaramitra, and illustrates them in his *Devī-stotra* by composing verses in praise of Devī, as the opening words of the latter work themselves show[4]. The work of Yaśakara in Stein is for this reason called *Alaṃkarôdāharaṇa-sannibaddha Devī-stotra*[5]. The Ratnākara of Jagannātha undoubtedly refers to this *Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara* of Śobhākaramitra; for the citation from Ratnākara at p. 202 = *sūtra* 11 (as given in Peterson i p. 78).

1 *Kashmir Rep.* App. ii no. 228, p. cxxviii.

2 *Rep.* i p. 12.

3 These are given in Peterson, *op. cit.* App. pp. 77-81.

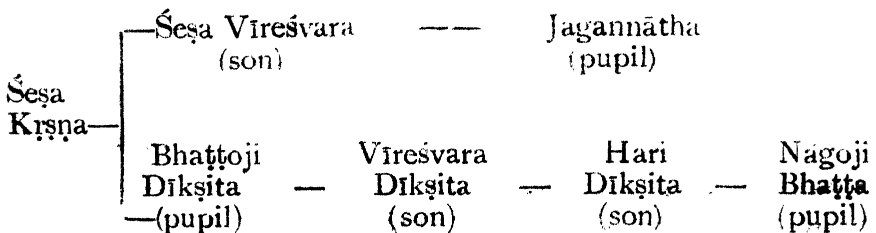
4 *ratnâkarâbhyantarato gṛhītvâlaṃkāra-sūtrāṇi yathā-krameṇa | bandîva devyā girirāja-putryāḥ karomi śaṃsaṃ śruti-gocarāṇi.* The commentary on this verse explains *śrī-trayīśvara-mitrâtmaja-śrī-śobhākaramitra-viracite'laṃkāra-ratnâkare'laṃkāra-sūtrāṇi.* The colophon to Bühler's MS of the *Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara* reads *trayīśvara-mantra-putrasya* as a description of Śobhākaramitra, in which the word *mantra* is obviously a mistake for *mitra.* Stein's Jammu MS 58 reads Śobhākaramitra as the name of the author (cf also *WBod* 11 62).

5 The original is also called *Alaṃkāra-ratnôdāharaṇa* and the author Śobhākareśvara. See also Mitra 1822; Hultzsch's *Eine Sammlung ind. Handschriften* 170.

(4)

The commentator on the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is Nāgeśa or Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, whose name we have already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa, Govinda, Bhānudatta and Appayya. He was a Mahratta Brahmin (with the surname Kāla), son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Satī. He lived in Benares and was patronised by Rāmasiṃha of Śṛṅgavera-pura (near Allahabad). He is one of the latter-day grammarians. who composed a number of works and commentaries on grammar, poetics and philosophy. He was the pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, who was the son of Vīreśvara Dīkṣita and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Bhaṭṭoji is known as a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa[1], whose son Śeṣa Vīreśvara was, as we have noted, a teacher of Jagannātha himself. Nāgoji was thus separated from Jagannātha roughly by two generations, and flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. The India office MS of his commentary on

1 author of the *Pada-candrikā* and the *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, and son and pupil of Śeṣa Narasiṃha or Nṛsīṃha. See Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 59. Nāgoji's relation to Jagannātha is illustrated thus :



Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* is dated in 1712 A.D[1]. Nāgoji was also the teacher of Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, and of Gaṅgārāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1802 A.D).[2]

Nāgoji wrote the following commentaries in poetics, as already noticed: (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (2) *Bṛhat* and *Laghu Uddyota* on Govinda's °*Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa (3) *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*pradīpa* on Mammaṭa (4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna ṣaṭpadānanda* on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda* (5) °*Prakāśa* on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* (6) a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 494a and b; ii 115b, 220a; iii 105b. *SCC* vii 35-38; *Madras Cat.* 12922-26.

Commentaries. (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b. Printed in Kāvyamālā with the text.

(2) *Viṣama-padī*. Anonymous. Aufrecht i 494b.

Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana

Edition. Kāvyamālā 38, 1893, 1907.

MSS. Aufrecht i 187b.

1 *IOC* iii p. 355. Cf Belvalkar *Systems of Sansk. Gram.* p. 49.

2 Maṇirāma wrote a commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa* in 1802 A.D. See *IOC* vii p. 1526.

XXIX MINOR WRITERS ON ALAMKARA

(1)

We propose in this chapter to deal with the minor writers on Alaṃkāra, other than the commentators as well as less known authors already mentioned in the preceding chapters, arranging them alphabetically, and giving the names of their works and such details as can be collected about them[1]

1. ACYUTA ŚARMAN or ACYUTARĀYA MOḌAKA

Sāhitya-sāra and its commentary *Sarasāmoda*

(Ed. Bombay 1860; N. S. P. Bombay 1906. Aufrecht i 716a, iii 171a).

The work is dated in *śaka* 1753 = 1831 A.D. The author describes himself as the pupil of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī. He appears to be identical with Acyutarāya who wrote the *Praṇaya-prakāśa* commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa*; for in it he refers to the *Sāhitya-sāra* as his own (ed. N. S. P. 1894 p. 1), citing the verses i 14-15 from the latter. In

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1 Doubtful names to be found in some catalogues, as well as those about which there is no reliable information, have been omitted in this list; and care has been taken to avoid useless or trifling entries.

his *Sāhitya-sāra*, again, he refers to the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* at p. 7.

The work consists of 12 chapters called *ratnas*, the metaphor being that these precious doctrines are churned by the author from the ocean of *Alaṃ-kāra-śāstra*. The chapters are accordingly named 1 Dhanvantari-ratna (the general characteristics of *kāvya*) 2 Airāvata-ratna (function of *śabda* and *artha*) 3 Indirā-ratna (the *vyaṅgya* and its occasions) 4 Dakṣiṇâvartakambu-ratna (divisions of *dhvani*, including *rasa-dhvani*) 5 Aśvavara-ratna (other inferior divisions of *dhvani*) 6 Viṣa-ratna (*doṣa*) 7 Guṇa-ratna (*guṇa*) 8 Kaustubha-ratna (*arthâlaṃkāras*) 9 Kāma-dhenu-ratna (*śabdâlaṃkāras*) 10 Rambhā-ratna (*nāyikā*) 11 Candra-ratna (*nāyaka*) and 12 Amṛta-ratna (conclusion). Our author is possibly identical with Acyuta, author of the *Bhāgīrathī-champū* (written in the 1815 A.D.), who is described by Aufrecht (i 770b) as the son (?) of Nārāyaṇa. This work is divided into 7 chapters called *manorathas*.

2. AJITASENĀCĀRYA or AJITASENA-DEVA YATĪŚVARA

a. *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi*

(Ed. by Padmarāja Paṇḍita in the *Kāvyâ-mbudhi* 1893-94. MS in Rice 304: cf Aufrecht i 6a, iii 2a).

b. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī*

(Aufrecht i 661; *ŚgŚ* ii pp. 83, 231 extract; *Madras Cat.* 12956-57).

The author was the Jaina priest of Cāmuṇḍarāya,

minister of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, and flourished in the latter part of the 10th century. He was the teacher of Nāgavarman, a Kanarese poet, who lived under the protection of Rakkasa Gaṅga, younger brother of Rācamalla. Ajita also wrote *Cintāmaṇi-prakāśikā* on Yakṣavarman's *Cintāmaṇi*, which is itself a commentary on Śākaṭāyana's *Śabdānuśāsana*. See Rice p. 308.

The *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* was written at the instance of a Jaina prince of the lunar race, named Rāya or Kāmirāya, for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas, dealing with (1) *pada-doṣa* (viz., *alakṣaṇa*, *śrutikaṭu*, *vyāghātártha*, *anarthaka*, *aprasiddha*, *neyártha*, *grāmya* and *asammata*) which ends with a discussion of the *vṛttis*, (2) the ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and (3) *arthālaṃkāras* (viz. *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *jāti*, *bhrāntimān*, *hetu*, *saṃśaya*, *prativastū-pamā*, *ākṣepa*, *dṛṣṭánta* and *tulyayogitā*).

3. AṆURATNAMAṆḌANA or RATNA-MAṆḌANA GAṆI

a. *Jalpa-kalpalatā*

(Weber 1722, long extract given ii pp. 278-80).

This Jaina author was a pupil of Ratnaśekhara Sūri of Tapāgaccha, who died in *saṃvat* 1517 = 1461 A.D., and therefore belonged roughly to the middle of the 15th century. The work, in three *stavakas*, gives practical instruction on composition (***kavi-śikṣā***)[1].

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1 For Ratnaśekhara, see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156-7: Peterson iv p. ciif: *IA* xi p. 256.

b. *Mugdha-medhākara*

(Peterson vi p. xv, extract given at p. 31).

A manual on poetic figures and kindred topics.

4. ANANTĀRYA

Kavi-samaya-kallola (*Madras Cat.* 12808, extract).

This South Indian writer was the son of Śiṅgarācārya. The work cites from Dharmasūri, Narasiṃha's *Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, and *Pratāparudrīya*; and therefore could not be earlier than the 14th century. He refers to another work by himself, called *Kṛṣṇa-rāja-yaśo-ḍiṇḍima*.

5. ANANTA

Sahitya-kalpavallī (Aufrecht i 13a).

6. AMṚTĀNANDA YOGIN

Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha

(ed. Calcutta 1887 with Engl. trans. Aufrecht i 29a; *Madras Cat.* 12794, extract).

The work consists of 5 chapters dealing with (1) *varṇa-gaṇa* (2) *śabdārtha* (3) *rasa* (4) *nāyaka-bheda* (5) *alaṃkāra*. The author says that he wrote this work at the request of Manvasamudra, son of Bhaktibhūmipati, who was a devotee of Śiva. It appears from the introductory verse that the author also intended to deal with *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *daśarūpaka*. He is probably identical with the Tāntrika Amṛtānanda who corrected (Weber p. 361) the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda.

7. ALLARĀJA or MALLARĀJA

Rasa-ratna-dīpikā (Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a).

A work of this name is cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, and by Ratnakaṇṭha on Mammaṭa (Peterson ii p. 17). See above p. 245, fn 5. The work is called *Rasa-ratna-pradīpa* by Allarāja in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533.

8. INDRAJIT

Rasika-priyā (Peterson vi no. 379).

The author also wrote a *Bāla-bodha* commentary on the *Vairāgya-śataka* (Aufrecht iii 13b).

9. KACCHAPEŚVARA DĪKSITA

Rāmacandra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa (*Madras Cat.* 12950, extract).

The author was the son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Kālahastīśvara who was a native of Brahmadeśa, a village in the North Arcot District, and the writer of a commentary on the *Bhāgavata.* His grandfather had two other sons, named Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, his father being the second son. The work consists of three chapters dealing with the *rasas.* viz. (1) *śṛṅgāra* (2) the other 8 *rasas* (3) *bhāva-nirūpaṇa.* The illustrations are in praise of the valour of Bommarāja (probably of the Karvetnagar zamindary in North Arcot).

10. KANDĀLAYĀRYA

Alaṃkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa
(Rice 283 anon.; Hultzsch i no. 371, extract at p. 75; *Madras Trm A* 168).

The author was the son of Rāmānujārya and

grandson of Keśavārya of the Ayaturi family. He probably lived at the court of either Veṅkaṭa I or II of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[1], and was thus a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita.

11. KALYĀṆA-SUBRAHMAṆYA SŪRI

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha with commentary
(*ŚgŚ* ii pp. 80, 221 ; *Madras Cat.* 12790).

The author was son of Subrahmaṇya and grandson of Gopāla of the Prūru family. The work invokes and sings the praise throughout of Padmanābha, the god of the temple of Anantaśayana (Travancore), and of the Vañjipāla Balarāma Varman Kulaśekhara. It was probably composed about 1798 A.D., as the king of Travancore of that name ruled about 1798-1800 A.D. It gives the characteristics of the different poetic figures dealt with in the *Candrāloka* and illustrates them with examples by the author himself in praise of his patron and his deity.

12. KĀNTICANDRA MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA

Kāvya-dīpikā
(ed. Calcutta 1870, 1886; Aufrecht i 92a. *Madras Cat.* 12815 may be this work, but is given without the name of the author).

The work appears to be a compilation for beginners from Mammaṭa and other well-known writers by a modern author belonging to the 19th century.

13. KĀŚĪLAKṢMAṆA KAVI

Alaṃkāra-grantha (Burnell 54a).

The work was probably written at the end of the

1 Hultzsch *ibid.* p. viii.

17th or the beginning of the 18th century, as the examples are all in praise of the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.).

14. KṚṢṆA

Sāhitya-taraṅgiṇī (Aufrecht ii 171a).

15. KUMBHA or KUMBHAKARṆA, Śrīrājādhirāja

Rasa-ratna-koṣa (Aufrecht i 495b).

A MS of this work in Devanāgarī character in the Paris Biblioth. Nationale (no. 243) is described by Regnaud p. 379. It is a treatise on *rasa* and kindred topics in 11 chapters, dealing with (1) 1-4 the *rasas* (2) 5-6 *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* (3) 7 *abhinaya* (4) 8-9 *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri bhāvas* (5) 10-11 *rasa* and *bhāva*. The treatment corresponds to the 3rd chapter of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* and matters dealt with in Bhānudatta's two works on *rasa*. The author is probably king Kumbha of Mevāḍ (1428-1459 A.D.) who wrote, besides some treatises on *saṃgīta*, a commentary entitled *Rasika-priyā* (ed. N. S. P. 1917) on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, and flourished in the first half of the 15th century. It is interesting to note that in the present work, Kumbha cites (besides Abhinavagupta) Kīrtidhara (see above p. 37), of whose date we thus get a limit at the 15th century A.D.

16. KṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA or JAYAKṚṢṆA MAUNIN

Vṛtti-dīpikā (Aufrecht i 598a).

The author was a grammarian, and the work

probably deals with the grammatico-rhetorical question of the *vṛttis* of words. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 198a. He is described as the son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa.

17. KṚṢṆA DĪKSITA or KṚṢṆA YAJVAN

Raghunātha-bhūpālīya
(Aufrecht i 486a; *Madras Trm C* 659d).

A commentary called *Sāhitya-sāmrājya* by Sumatīndra Yati, pupil of Surīndra-pūjyapāda, is mentioned in Rice 288.

18. KṚṢṆA ŚARMAN

a. *Mandāra-maranda-campū*
(ed. Kāvyamālā 52 with *Mādhurya-rañjanī* commentary, 1895).

b. *Rasa-prakāśa* (Aufrecht i 495a).

The first-named work is a so-called *champū*, dealing in reality with Prosody, Dramaturgy, Poetics as well as practical Kavi-śikṣā. The work consists of 11 chapters called *bindus*,, dealing with (1) chandas (2) nāyaka-varṇana (3) śleṣa (4) yamaka and citra (5) the different bandhas (6) enigmatology (7) dramaturgy (8) nāyaka-lakṣaṇa (9) bhāva and rasa (10) alaṃkāra, with dhvani-nirūpaṇa etc. (11) doṣa, which however includes sections on śabdârtha, the three vṛttis etc., pāka, kāvya-bheda, and a section of practical hints for descriptive poetry. The work appears to be very ill-arranged and ill-digested, having no fixed theory but forming an encyclopaedic compila-

tion from various sources, meant to serve as a complete hand-book for the poet. The author, who is described as an inhabitant of Guhapura and a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara, gives us no clue to his date : but his work is certainly very late. He copies, for instance, many definitions and illustrations from Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, and even appropriates the whole section on *pāka* from Vidyānātha. Some of the new poetic figures, which appear to be first adduced and illustrated by Appayya, find a place in this comprehensive compilation. One should conjecture from this that the work belongs to quite recent times. The *Rasaprakāśa* is a commentary on Mammaṭa (see p. 186).

19. KEŚAVA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-saṃjīvanī

(Aufrecht i 127b, 497b ; *Br. Mus.* no. 424, extract).

The work, dealing with *rasa*, is in 3 *vilāsas*. The author was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and a vaiṣṇava disciple of Viṭṭhaleśvara, who is apparently the son of the reformer Vallabhācārya. Hence our author probably belongs to the second half of the 16th century. The first *vilāsa* (11 *śl* only) is mainly introductory; the second deals with *nāyikās*, and the third with *māna, praṇaya, rāga, śṛṅgāra* etc.

20. GAṄGĀNANDA MAITHILA

Karṇa-bhūṣaṇa (ed. Kāvyamālā 79, 1902).

This is a work on the *rasas* in five chapters, dealing with (1) vibhāvas (2) anubhāvas (3) vyabhicāri-bhāvas (4) sthāyi-bhāvas (5) rasa. It was written,

as the author himself says, at the command of king Śrīkarṇa of Bikaner (*bikāneri-purī*), who appears to be the same as Lūṇakarṇaji who ruled at Bikaner from 1505 to 1526 A.D.

21. GANGĀRĀMA JAḌI or JAḌIN

Rasa-mīmāṃsā

(ed. with *Chāyā*, Benares 1885; Mss in Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, iii 106a).

For details about the author and his commentary on Bhānudatta's work, see above p. 253. He belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century.

22. GADĀDHARA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-jīvana (Aufrecht i 497b, ii 116b).

This work on *rasa*, which also bears the character of an anthology, is in ten *prabandhas*. The author is the son of Gaurīpati and grandson of Dāmodara. Regnaud (p. 379) gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale MS of this work.

23. GOKULANĀTHA MAITHILA

Rasa-mahārṇava

The author is the celebrated Maithili Smārta and Naiyāyika Gokulanātha, son of Pītāmbara and Umādevī of Phaṇadaha family in Mañgraunī, who lived and wrote in Benares at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The work is referred to by himself in his *Pada-vākya-ratnākara*[1]. He is probably the same as wrote a commentary

1 *ABod* 246a.

on Mammaṭa, see above p. 186. His drama *Amṛtôdaya* (written about 1693 A.D.) has been published in Kāvyamālā 59, 1897[1].

24. GAURANĀRYA

Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā

(also called *Prabandha-dīpikā* or *Padârtha-dīpikā*. *Madras Cat.* 12951, extract).

This work, which breaks off with the sixth *prakāśa*, deals with (1) *kāvya-svarūpā* (2) *paribhāṣā* (3) *kārya-lakṣaṇa-bheda* (4) *kalikôtkalikâdi* (5) *udāharṇa-bheda* and (6) *nāyikā*. The author is described as the son of Āyamaprabhu and brother of Mitarāja, who was the minister of Śiṅgaya Mādhava of Recarla family. The work cites *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* (of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla ?). Another work, apparently in 4 *paricchedas*, also called *Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā* (consisting of *kārikā* and *vṛtti*) is attributed in the same Catalogue (no. 12952, extract) to Gauranārya, but the author is here described as the son of Ayyalu-mantrin, brother of *amātya* Potama. They may be identical. The latter work cites the *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, *Camatkāra-candrikā* (see above p. 243fn.), *Sāhitya-candrôdaya* and *Sāhitya-ratnâkara* (of Dharma Sūri ?). The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, of which two MSS (without the name of the author) are noticed in *Madras Cat.* 12802-03, appears to be a treatise (said to be based on Piṅgala's work) on the characteristics of a poet's personal appearance and qualities, on the effect of the initial words of a poem, on the auspicious day for beginning a composition and so forth.

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1 See *HPS* i p. 17f.

25. GHĀSI or GHĀSĪ RĀMA PAṆḌITA

a. *Rasa-candra* (*IOC* 295).

b. *Rasa-kaumudī* (*Madras Cat.* 12921, extract).

The first work was composed in 1696 A.D. The latter work describes the nine *rasas*. Rāmapaṇḍita's *Rasa-kaumudī* in Peterson v 414 refers apparently to this work. The *Rasa-candra* is in 4 chapters, dealing with 1. *nāyikā-gaṇa-bheda* (198 *śl*) 2. *nāyaka-saṃgha* (85 *śl*) 3. *anubhāvādi-gaṇa* (150 *śl*) 4. *rasa* (162 *śl*). Is this Ghāsīrāma identical with Ghāsīrāma Bhaṭṭa, father Śrīnātha who wrote the medical work *Jagat-prakāśa* (Stein pp. 193, 348)? He, however, appears to be the same as wrote the *Padya-muktāvalī* (erotic verses).

26. CAṆḌĪDĀSA

Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha

The work is referred to by himself in his commentary on Mammaṭa. See above p. 173.

27. CANDRACŪḌA

Prastāva-cintāmaṇi (Ulwar 1064, extract 223; Weber 826).

The author is described as the son of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa. For citations in this work, see Weber *loc. cit.* It cites Candraśekara-campū-prabandha which, Regnaud thinks, is a *campū* by Candraśekhara, father of Viśvanātha (q. v.) It is a work on the art of writing poetic descriptions.

28. CIRAÑJĪVA or RĀMADEVA CIRAÑJĪVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

a. *Kāvya-vilāsa*

(Aufrecht i 102b, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b).

b. *Śṛṅgāra-taṭinī* (Aufrecht i 660b).

The author was the son of Rāghavendra (described as *ācārya-śatāvadhāna*) and grandson of Kāśīnātha. He is the author of the *Vidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī* (a champū)[1] and also of a work on prosody. The India Office MS (see *IOC* iii pp. 343-44, for a detailed summary of its contents) of the *Kāvya-vilāsa* consists of two chapters, dealing with *rasa* and *alaṃkāra* respectively, the illustrative stanzas being the author's own. The section on *śabdālaṃkāra* from this work has been printed and inadvertantly included in the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, published by N. S. P. (ed. Vāsudeva, 1909) with Āśādhara's commentary[2]. See above p. 267 fn 2. Ciranjīva wrote his *Vṛtta ratnāvalī*[3] as a panegyric on Yaśovanta Siṃha, Nayeb-dewan of Dacca under Suja'u-d-daulah of Bengal, about *śaka* 1653 = 1731 A.D. He belongs therefore to the first half of the 18th century.

29. JAYAMANGALA

Kavi-śikṣā (Aufrecht i 88a; Peterson i no. 120, extract).

This work is apparently cited by Ratnakaṇṭha on *Stuti-kusumāñjali* i 1. The author was a Jaina

1 See *ABod* 260-61.

2 See pp. 97-100 of this edition.

3 *HPS* iii no. 280.

who wrote at the time of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra[1].

30. JINAVALLABHA SŪRI

Praśnôttara (*Br. Mus.* no. 426, extract).

This is a collection of riddles and verbal puzzles. On the author (about 1110 A.D.), see Klatt p. 36, and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 48, where other works of his are mentioned. It is accompanied by an *avacūrī* by Kamala-mandira.

31. JĪVANĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-śekhara (Aufrecht i 32b).

32. TIRUMALA or TRIMALLA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, iii 7b ; extract in *ALeip* 851).

This South Indian author was the son of Vallabha-bhaṭṭa, and his name is also given as Trimmala or Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala. The work was written in Benares in 43 verses and deals only with *arthâlaṃkāras*. The *Arthâlaṃkāra-mañjarī* entered under this author's name in Bühler's *Catalogue* (1871-73) is probably this work. There is a commentary on this, called *Madhu-dhārā* (Burnell 57a) by Sudhīndra-yati, pupil of Vijayendra (q.v.). Our author appears to be identical with Trimalla Kavi, son of Vallabha and grandson of Śiṅghaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote some works on medicine (see *ALeip* 1182-85).

1 Peterson i p. 68.

33. TRILOCANĀDITYA

Nāṭya-locana (Aufrecht i 284b, iii 61a).

This work (without the author's name) is extensively cited, e.g. by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* ed. N. S. P. 1886, p. 7, by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*, by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśī* i 1; by Dinakara and Cāritravardhana on *Raghu*. As Dinakara's date is 1385 A.D.[1], this work cannot be placed later than the middle or third quarter of the 14th century. A commentary, called °*Locana-vyākhyāñjana*, by the author himself is mentioned in Oppert 2695.

34. TRYAMBAKA

Nāṭaka-dīpa (Aufrecht i 284b).

Three commentaries, one of them being by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, are entered by Aufrecht *loc. cit.* One of the Deccan College MSS contains a Prakrit commentary[2].

35. DĀMODARA BHAṬṬA HARSE

Alaṃkāra-krama-mālā (Aufrecht i 32a)

36. DEVANĀTHA

Rasika-prakāśa (Aufrecht i 497b).

The author is probably the same as Devanātha Tarkapañcānana who wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa (see above p. 187). A Devanātha is cited by Bharatamallika (18th century) on Bhaṭṭi x 73.

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1 Nandargikar's ed. of *Raghu*, 1897, Pref. p. 17.

2 *Deccan Coll. Catalogue* p. 417 no. 38.

37. DEVAŚAṄKARA, surnamed Purohita

Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā,

(Aufrecht ii 6b; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxiiif, extract).

The author, a Guzerat Brahmin, was the son of Nāhanābhai and a native of Rāner, (Rānder near Surat) and lived at Uraḥpattana (probably Olpāḍ in the same district). The work deals with poetic figures alone, and the illustrations sing the glory of the Peswas Mādhava Rāo I and his uncle Raghunātha Rāo (1791-1768 A.D.). The author, therefore, belongs to the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century.

38. DHARMADĀSA SŪRI

Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana, with *vṛtti*

(Ed. Haeberlin in Kāvyasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1847, p. 269f. Printed many times in India: but ed. N. S. P. 1914 is useful. MSS: Aufrecht i 572b, ii 135b, 225a, iii 121a).

Commentaries on this work are numerous :

(1) By Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasiṃha Sūri, (Weber 1728). For this Jaina writer, whose known dates are 1293 and 1309 A.D., see Peterson iv p. xxxvii and Klatt's Onomasticon. His *guru* Jinasiṃha founded the Laghu-kharatara-gaccha in 1275 A.D. The date of our commentator, therefore, will be the last quarter of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2) Commentary by Ātmārāma. Aufrecht i 573a. The full name of this writer appears to be Svātmārāma Yogīndra.

(3) *Vidvan-manoramā* by Tārācandra Kāyastha. Aufrecht i 573a, ii 135b, iii 121a. For his other works, see *ibid* i 229a.

(4) *Śravaṇa-bhūṣaṇa* by Narahari Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 573a.

(5) *Subodhinī* by Trilocana. Aufrecht ii 135b (extract in Stein p. 274).

(6) Commentary by Śivacandra. Aufrecht iii 121a.

(7) °*ṭīkā* by Durgādāsa, son of Vāsudeva and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Devacandra. Aufrecht ii 135b, iii 121a. Extract in Peterson iv p. 36.

The work of Dharmadāsa is in 4 *paricchedas*, dealing with enigmatology and *citra-kāvya*. The concluding verse in the Bombay edition of the text (wanting in Br. Mus. MS, Bendall no. 427), as well as the first verse (which invokes Śauddhodani) and the colophon to Jinaprabha's commentary, makes the author a Buddhist ascetic. The known dates of Jinaprabha put the limits of Dharmadāsa's date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. This work is also cited by name by Kumārasvāmin (p. 122 = iv 1), by Rāya-mukuṭa on Amara[1], and quoted in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara. These citations themselves would put the date of our author earlier than the 14th century.

39. DHARMASUDHĪ or DHARMA SŪRI

Sāhitya-ratnākara

(ed. by Tiruveṅkaṭācārya with commentary, Madras 1871; ed. Nellore 1885. **Aufrecht i**

1 Composed 1431 A.D.: see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 63.

716a, 795b, ii 171a, iii 148a: *Madras Trm A* 306, extract; *Madras Cat.* 12970-75: *HPS* ii no. 246, extract).

The author's name is given variously as Dharma-siṃha or Dharma-paṇḍita. He belonged to a Benares family distinguished for the high proficiency of its members in philosophical studies, and his genealogy is thus given (Hultzsch i p. 70): Tripurāri→Dharma→Parvateśa→Dharma Sūri. He was also the author of a drama, called *Naraka-dhvaṃsa* (a *vyāyoga*) or *Narakāsura-vijaya*[1]. The author is cited by Anantārya (q. v.) in his *Kavi-samaya-kallola*. A commentary on this *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, called °*Naukā*, by Veṅkaṭa Sūri is mentioned in *Madras Trm B* 444 and *Madras Cat.* 12974-75. Veṅkaṭa Sūri was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri and Sūramāmbā, and grandson of Brahmāntara-vāṇi and disciple of Veṅktācārya. The *Sāhitya-ratnākara* is in 10 *taraṅgas*, dealing with the conventional topics of the science. Dharma Sūri must have been later than Vidyānātha; for in one of his verses he anonymously ridicules Vidyānātha's method of praising his patron (*alaṃkriyāḥ pūrva-taraiḥ praṇītāḥ | prayogitāḥ kāścana nāyakena | kaiścit tu kukṣimbharibhir nibadhāḥ | kṣodīyasā kāścana nāyakena*)

40. NARASIMHA or NṚSIMHA KAVI

Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa
(Aufrecht i 274b, ii 59b, iii 59b; *Madras Trm A* 19; *Madras Cat.* 12896-99).

The author, son of Śivarāma-sudhī-maṇi, was

1 Ed. Madras 1884; Hultzch 323, Aufrecht i 277a.

patronised by Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of his work and whose glory it sings in the illustrative verses. This prince flourished in the beginning of the 17th century. Narasiṃha also wrote a drama called *Candrakalā-pariṇaya*[1].

41. NARASIMHĀCĀRYA or VEṄKAṬA NṚSIMHA KAVI

Alaṃkārêndu-śekhara

(*Madras Cat.* 12978, extract, contains the first *prakaraṇa* only).

This South Indian author was the son of Dasamācārya of Śrīśaila family, and wrote a commentary on a work on music, called *Śānta-vilāsa*, composed by Subrahmaṇya Sudhī (*alias* Hariśāba Kavîndra) son of Harirāya and grandson of Kṛṣṇarāya of Cariṣpusāla village. He refers to a *Gīta-mañjarī* by this Hariśāba Kavîndra and to a *campū* of his own called, *Jānakī-pariṇaya*. The work on Alaṃkāra mentioned above deals with (1) *nāyaka-lakṣaṇa* (2) *kāvya-svarūpa* (3) *rasa-lakṣaṇa*, especially *śṛṅgāra* (4) *doṣa* and *guṇa* and (5) *alaṃkāra*. Our author also wrote a commentary, called also *Alaṃkārêndu-śekhara*, on some *kārikās* on Poetics, entitled *Lakṣaṇa-mālikā*[2].

42. NARAHARI SŪRI

Rasa-nirūpaṇa

This work and the author are mentioned by Kumārasvāmin at p. 224.

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1 *ŚgŚ* i no. 45 (called *Candrakalā-kalyāṇa*) p. 5, 82.

2 See *Madras Cat.* 12955 extract; *ŚgŚ* i 98-99 extract, also p. 11.

43. NĀRĀYAṆA DEVA

Alaṃkāra-candrikā

This work is referred to by the author himself in his *Saṃgīta-nārāyaṇa*[1]. The author, also called Gajapati-vīra-nārāyaṇadeva, was the son of Padmanābha and disciple of Puruṣottama Miśra.

44. NĪLAKAṆṬHA DĪKSITA

Citramīmāṃsā-doṣa-dhikkāra (Aufrecht iii 40b).

For the work and the author, see above pp. 266, 269 and fn.

45. PUÑJARĀJA

a. *Dhvani-pradīpa* (Aufrecht i 273b).

b. *Kāvyálaṃkāra-śiśu-prabodha* or *Śiśu-prabodhálaṃkāra.* (Aufrecht i 103a).

The author was the son of Jīvana and Makū, of the Śrīmāla family of Malabar (*mālabhāra*), and his genealogy is given thus: Sādhu-sadepāla→Kora (ā?)→Pāma (ā?)→Govā→Yāṃpaca→Jīvana. Jīvana's brother Megha and himself were ministers of Khalaci Sāhi Gayāsa; and Jīvana had two sons Puñja and Muñja. Puñja became king, but abondoning his kingdom to his younger brother, devoted himself to study, and wrote some works[2]. The colophon[3] to Puñjarāja's *Sārsvata-ṭīkā* says *śrīmālakula-śrīmālabhāraśrī-puñjarāja*[0] on which Bhandarkar remarks that Puñjarāja was the ornament of the Mālava

1 *ABod* 201.

2 Peterson v pp. xliii, 166-69.

3 Peterson v p. 169; *AFl* 181.

circle[1]. Aufrecht thinks that the patron of Puñja's father and uncle was *Gh*iyās Shāh *Kh*aljī of Mālava (about 1475 A.D.) and that Puñjarāja must have lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century.

46. PUṆḌARĪKA

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa (Aufrecht i 284b; *SCB* 308).

47. PUṆḌARĪKA RĀMEŚVARA

Rasa-sindhu (Aufrecht iii 106a).

48. PURUSOTTAMA SUDHĪNDRA

Kavitāvatāra (Aufrecht i 87a).

The work is dedicated to one Nāgabhūpāla. A Puruṣottama is cited by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, see above p. 236, fn 4.

49. PRABHĀKARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Rasa-pradīpa*

(Aufrecht ii 115b, 220a. Weber 823 ; *SCC* vii 42, extract in both).

b. *Alaṃkāra-rahasya*, cited in his *Rasa-pradīpa*.

The author was the son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, and younger brother of Ragunātha and Viśvanātha, the last of whom he calls his 'vidyā-guru'. The *Rasa-pradīpa* was composed in *saṃvat* 1640 = 1583 A.D. (Weber *loc. cit.*)[2],

1 *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 12 ; cf also the colophon to his *Śiśu-prabodha* quoted in *op. cit.* p. 199.

2 The date given in *SCC* vii no. 42 is *saṃvat* 1170 = 1114 A.D : but this must be a mistake.

According to Hall (p. 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. His *Laghu-sapta-śatikā-stotra*, an epitome of the *Devīmāhātmya* was written in 1629 A.D. He belongs therefore to the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. The *Rasa-pradīpa* consists of three *ālokas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa* (2) *rasa-viveka* (3) *vyañjanā-nirūpaṇa*. He cites Śrīharṣa Miśra, Miśra, Rucinātha, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abhinavagupta), Pradīpakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇa-kāra. The Dharmadatta may be the same as quoted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. Ananta in his commentary on *Āryāsaptaśati* quotes a Rucinātha Miśra as a writer on Poetics. For Prabhākara's other works, see Aufrecht i 353b.

50. BALADEVA

Śṛṅgāra-hāra (Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81, p. 71).

The author is described as son of Keśava. MS dated in *saṃvat* 1845.

51. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaustubha

(Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b).

This work, in 9 *prabhās*, having the same arrangement and subject-matter as in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, is by Baladeva who was a commentator on Mammaṭa, (see above pp. 184-5).

52. BĀLAKṚṢṆA (PĀYAGUṆḌA)

Alaṃkāra-sāra (Aufrecht i 32b).

A work of this name is cited by Jayaratha; also

in Bühler's *Catalogue* 1871-73. Our author should be distinguished from the unknown writer of this work and is probably identical with Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa (Balambhaṭṭa) who wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mīmāṃsā*. See above pp. 199,273. This Bālakṛṣṇa may also be the same as the teacher of Mahādeva (who wrote the drama *Adbhuta-darpaṇa*), and as such a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha whose known date is 1637 A.D.

53. BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA

Sāhitya-kallolinī (*Madras Cat.* 12964, extract).

The author is described as a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsa-gotra, and a resident of Bhūtapurī or Śrīperumbūdūr. The verses are taken copiously from several well-known rhetorical works, e.g. Mammaṭa, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* etc. The author states his indebtedness to the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅgabhūpāla; hence he should be placed later than the middle of the 14th century. The topics dealt with are *prabandha-bheda*, *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, *vastu*, *sandhi* *nāyaka-lakṣaṇa*, *rūpaka* and *kāvya-lakṣaṇa*.

54. BHĀVA MIŚRA or MIŚRA BHĀVA

Śṛṅgāra-sarasī

(Aufrecht i 661a, ii 158a, 230b ; *SCC* vii 43, extract).

The author of this treatise on amorous sentiments is described as the son of Miśra Bhaṭaka.

55. BHĪMASENA DĪKSITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra*

b. *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti* or *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana.*

He refers to both these works in his *Sudhā-sāgara* commentary oy Mammaṭa (see p. 183-4). For the latter work see Aufrecht ii 23a.

56. BHĪMEŚVARA BHAṬṬA, son of Raṅga-bhaṭṭa

Rasa-sarvasva (Burnell 57a).

57. BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA

Rasa-vilāsa (Aufrecht i 496b, ii 116b, iii 106a).

The author, son of Śukhadeva, belongs to the 16th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 414b. The India Office MS of the present work contains only 3 *stavakas* and the beginning of a 4th. Our author is the same as Bhūdeva Śukla who wrote the drama *Dharma-vijaya*, see Mitra i p. 37; Weber 1561: *IOC* vii p. 1596 (ed. Granthamālā iii 1889).

58. MĀNASIMHA

Sāhitya-sāra (Aufrecht i 716a).

59. MOHANADĀSA

Rasodadhi

The work is cited by himself in his commentary on the *Mahānāṭaka* (*ABod* 143a). The author was the son of Kamalāpati.

60. YAJÑEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-rāghava* (Aufrecht i 32a)
b. *Alaṃkāra-sūryôdaya* (Aufrecht i 32b)
c. *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (Aufrecht ii 171a).

The author was the son of Carakāri (Cerukūri) Koṇḍu Bhaṭṭa, and probably a nephew of Lakṣmīdhara (q. v.)[1]. He may be identical with Yajñeśvara already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa. (see p. 188) The first-named work is so called from the circumstance that the examples all refer to Rāma.

61. YAŚASVIN KAVI

Sāhitya-kautūhala and its commentary *Ujjvalapadā* (Aufrecht i 715b, ii 171a).

The author is described as the son of Gopāla and Kāśī. The India Office MS (*Cat.* iii p. 337) was copied in 1730 A.D., and contains only the first chapter which deals with enigmatology and *citra-kāvya*.

62. RATNABHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaumudī (*HPS* ii no. 35, extract).

This work in 10 *pariccdedas* is apparently a very modern composition by a Vaidya Paṇḍit of East Bengal. It deals with (1) nāma (2) liṅgâdi (3) dhātu-pratyaya (4) kāvya-lakṣaṇa (5) dhvani (6) guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (7) guṇa (8) and (9) alaṃkāra (10) doṣa, the first three chapters being devoted to grammar. The date *śaka* 1781 (= 1859 A.D.) may be the date of its composition (*HPS ibid* preface p. viii).

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1 See *ŚgŚ* ii p. 65.

63. RAVIGUPTA ĀCĀRYA

Loka-saṃvyavahāra (Aufrecht i 546a).

A poet of this name, with the title *bhadanta*, wrote a *Candraprabhā-vijaya*[1]. He is cited in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (237, 351, 384) and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabha[2], as well as by Yaśodhara on Vātsyāyana (I. 3. 16).

64. RĀGHAVA CAITANYA

Kavi-kalpalatā (Aufrecht i 87a).

Possibly the poet of the same name cited in the *Paddhati* as Rāghavacaitanya Śrīcaraṇa (71, 168, 877, 1557-8), which title apparently indicates that he was a well-known Vaiṣṇava. Is this the Kavikalpalatā-kāra quoted by Keśava Miśra (see above p. 262f)? In the colophon to the codex containing Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* in *SCC* vii no. 7 (cf. *ABod* 211b), the reading is *māgha-caitanya-viracita-kavi-kalpalatāyāḥ* etc. This may be a corruption of or mistake for the name Rāghavacaitanya, whose work may have got mixed up with that of Deveśvara himself.

65. RĀJACŪḌĀMAṆI DĪKSITA

a. *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b; *Madras Trm A* 191; *Madras Cat.* 12809-814; with the commentary of Ravi-paṇḍita).

b. *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* cited in his *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (*Madras Cat.* 12809), or *Alaṃ-*

1 See Peterson i App. p. 68; iv p. civ.

2 See introd. pp. 99-100.

kāra-śiromaṇi (Hultzsch i extract p. 86). MS in Rice 280 (anonymous).

The author, who is a well-known South Indian poet, was the son of Satyamaṅgala Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and Kāmākṣī, and step-brother of Keśava Dīkṣita and Śeṣādriśekhara Dīkṣita. He was the grandson of Bhāvasvāmin and Lakṣmī, and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Dīkṣita, and pupil of Ardhanārīśvara Dīkṣita who was his brother (Hultzsch ii p. x). His genealogy and a long list of his other works are given in the concluding verses of his *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1] and in his *Ānanda-rāghava*[2]. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* in ten *ullāsas*, as well as his other work on Poetics, deals with the poetic figures. The family to which he belonged was known as *atirātra yājin*. Śrīnivāsa Atirātrayājin in Aufrecht i 672a is identical with Rājacūḍāmaṇi's father. He lived in Sūrasamudra in Toṇḍīra (between Tanjore and Madura). Cf Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 94. For his other works see Aufrecht ii 117b, Hultzsch i pp. ix-x. His *Kamalinī-kalahaṃsa* and *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* have been published by Śrīvāṇivilāsa Press.

66. RĀMA ŚARMAN or RĀMA KAVI

Nāyikā-varṇana in 49 stanzas (*Madras Cat.* 12901).

67. RĀMACANDRA

Nāṭaka-dārpaṇa (Peterson v p. 188).

This work is apparently cited by Raṅganātha

1 extract in *Madras Cat.* 12809 and Hultzsch i pp. 85-6.

2 *Madras Cat.* no. 12495.

on *Vikramórvaśī* and Bharatamallika on Bhaṭṭi. It is in four *vivekas*, dealing with Dramaturgy. The author is conjectured to be the one-eyed pupil of Jaina Hemacandra[1]. He also wrote a drama called *Raghu-vilāsa*[2] or *Raghu-vilāpa*[3] where he mentions four other works by himself.

68. RĀMACANDRA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA

Kāvya-candrikā (Aufrecht i 101a, 778b), with commentary called *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā* (ed. Comilla 1885; Dacca 1886 with commentary of Jagabandhu Tarkavāgîśa; Bombay 1912, with commentary *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā*).

A Bengal writer described as the son of Vidyānidhi (?). Is he identical with Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭâcārya, author of the *Kāvya-mañjarī* commentary on the *Kuvalayánanda* (see p. 273)?

69. RĀMA SUBRAHMAṆYA

Alaṃkāra-śāstra-saṃgraha (Hultzsch 1562).

70. LAKSMĪDHARA DĪKSITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-muktávalī* (Aufrecht i 32a)

b. *Rasa-mañjarī*, cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*.

The author was the son of Yajñeśvara and Sarvāmbikā (or Ambikāmbā), grandson of Timmaya Somayājin, and brother and pupil of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa. He bore the surname of Dakṣiṇāmūrti-kiṅkara. His

1 Peterson iv pp. 16-7, Bühler's *Hemacandra* p. 44.

2 Peterson v 145.

3 Bühler *Kashmir Rep.* p. xlix.

family came from Cerukūru on the Kṛṣṇā river, which Hultzsch thinks to be identical with modern Pedda-cerukūru near Bāpaṭla. He is identical with Lakṣmī-dhara, author of the Prakrit grammar *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā*, and also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava*, *Prasanna-rāghava* and *Gīta-govinda*. In the first of these commentaries it is said that after having led the life of a householder for a long time, he travelled to different countries and conquered all literary opponents, and then having renounced the cares of the world he became a *sannyāsin* or *yati* with the name Rāmānanda or Rāmānandāśrama, under a *guru* called Kṛṣṇāśrama. Lakṣmīdhara (who is also sometimes called Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa or Lakṣmaṇa Sūri) was patronised by Tirumalarāja, probably Tiru-mala I of the Vijayanagar dynasty[1], to whom his *Śruti-rañjanī* commentary on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* is sometimes attributed[2].

71. VALLABHA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-kaumudī (ed. Granthamālā ii, 1889).

A short treatise of very recent times, dealing with poetic figures, the illustrations being in praise of Rāma.

72. VASANTARĀJA

Nāṭya-śāstra

The author is known as the king of Kumāragiri

1 *EI* iii p. 238 Table.

2 See Hultzsch 2112, *SgS* ii pp. 203-5. See also *SgŚ* ii pp. 63-5, 67; Hultzsch iii pp. viii-ix.

and quoted by Kāṭayavema as his patron[1]. The work is cited by Kumārasvāmin as *vasanta-rājīya* p. 178, by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* ii 8 and by Sarvānanda on *Amarakoṣa*[2]. These citations make it clear that this metrical work on dramaturgy can not be later than the 14th century. This *Nāṭya-śāstra* is also mentioned in a commentary on the Southern recension of the *Śakuntalā* by Kāṭayavema who is discribed as a minister of king Vasantarāja of Kumāragiri. This commentary proposes to follow the exposition of Vasantarāja's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (*IOC* vii p. 1575-76).

73. VIṬṬHALEŚVARA or VIṬṬHALA DĪKSITA

a. *Rīti-vṛtti-lakṣaṇa* (Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104)

b. *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana* (Aufrecht i 661a, ii 158a, 230b, iii 137b).

The author, also called Agnikumāra, was the son of Vallabhācārya the famous religious reformer, and brother of Gopīnātha, and father of seven sons, Giridhara, Raghunātha and others. He was born in 1515 A.D. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 572a, and b, 135a, 225a, iii 121a.

74. VIDYĀRĀMA .

Rasa-dīrghikā (Peterson iii no. 336).

75. VIŚVANĀTHA

Sāhitya-sudhā-sindhu (Aufrecht ii 171a, 234a).

This South Indian author, who wrote in Benares,

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1 Burnell 173a. 2 *ŚgŚ* ii p. 30.

was the son of Trimala or Trimalla Deva and grandson of Ananta of Dhārāsura city on the Godāvarī. Stein's Kashmirian MS[1] is dated in 1602 A.D.[2] He quotes at the beginning of his work from Mammaṭa and Bhoja, and elsewhere cites Caṇḍīdāsa (probably the same as the commentator on Mammaṭa) and Mahimabhaṭṭa. The work is in eight *taraṅgas*. Viśvanātha also wrote a drama called *Mṛgāṅkalekhā*.

76. VIŚVEŚVARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*

(ed. Kāvyamālā 66, 1898 ; Aufrecht i 31b, 772b, ii 6a, 188a ; *Madras Cat.* 12792-93)

b. *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* (Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, 188a iii 7b ; *Madras Cat.* 12792-3, extract)

c. *Alaṃkāra-kula-pradīpa* (Aufrecht i 31b, ii 187b)

d. *Kavīndra-karṇābharaṇa* (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 8, 1891)

e. *Rasa-candrikā* (*Madras Cat.* 12927 ; Stein 63).

The author was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and was born in Ālmoḍa, where his descendants still live. He flourished in the beginning of the 18th century and

1 *Jammu Cat.* p. xxix.

2 Stein speaks of a MS "transcribed from an autograph copy of the author. In the colophon referring to this original copy, which is added by another hand at the end of the Jammu MS, the date *saṃvat* 1659 (=A.D. 1602) can be made out with difficulty."

died about its middle at the age of 34[1]. In the first work, the author refers to two dramas called *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* (*saṭṭaka*) and *Rukminī-pariṇaya* by himself; and the latest writers that he quotes appears to be Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha. He cites also Mallinātha (p. 69) as a commentator on Daṇḍin (see above p. 73), Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 125, 166), Maheśvara (p. 49, 111) who is probably the commentator on Mammaṭa, cited as Nyāyālaṃkāra (p. 82), as well as a work called *Kāvya-ḍākinī*. The Nyāyapañcānana, so extensively quoted, is probably Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana, another commentator on Mammaṭa. He gives the name of his elder brother as Umāpati (p. 387). The second work of our author, as he himself says, was written as an easier and briefer manual for beginners, after his first more extensive work. The fourth work deals in four chapters with enigmatology and *citrakāvya* (58 varieties). The fifth work deals with the different classes of heroes and heroines, and their characteristics. Viśveśvara was a scholiast of considerable activity and also wrote a commentary, called *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* or *Samañjasārtha* on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* (see above p. 252). For his other works, see Aufrecht ii 139b. The Kāvyamālā editors (viii 52) mention two other works *Kāvya-tilaka* and *Kāvya-ratna* by Viśveśvara.

77. VIŚVEŚVARA KAVICANDRA

This author and his work are mentioned above p. 243 fn.

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1 See Kāvyamālā pt. viii pp. 51-52 fn.

78. VIṢṆUDĀSA

a. *Śiśu-prabodha Alaṃkāra* (*AFl* 469)

b. *Kavi-kautuka* cited by himself in chapter vii of the above work.

The author was the son of Mādhava. The Florentine MS, referred to above, contains only chapters 6 and 7, which deal with *artha-guṇa* and *śabdālaṃkāra* respectively.

79. VĪRA NĀRĀYAṆA

Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi with a commentary (Aufrecht i 715b, also called °*cūḍāmaṇi*, *Madras Cat.* 12965-68. extract).

According to the colophon, Vīra Nārāyaṇa is the author; but in the work itself he is in the vocative case and praised, as in the *Pratāpa-rudra*. The alleged author seems to be the same as the Reḍḍi-prince Vema of Koṇḍavīḍu (end of the 14th and and beginning of the 15th century), the hero of the *Vemabhūpāla-carita* or *Vīranārāyaṇa-carita*[1] of Abhinava Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (ed. Śrīvaṇī-vilāsa Press). There is also a reference to Pedakomaṭi Vemabhūpāla who is the same person. A commentary called *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* on the *Amaru-śataka* is attributed to Vīranārāyaṇa (Aufrecht ii 141b) or Vemabhūpāla (*ibid* i 609b). The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* consists of seven chapters which deal with (1) *dhvani* (2) *śabdārtha* (3) *dhvani-bheda* (4) *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* (5) *doṣa* (6) *guṇa* (7) *alaṃkāra*. Possibly this is the work cited under the name *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* by Kumārasvāmin (p. 97) and in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* (p. 4).

1 Burnell 162a; also see 58a.

80. VĪREŚVARA PAṆḌITA (BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA), surnamed Śrīvara

Rasa-ratnāvalī (*IOC* 1257).

This Vīreśvara is the son of Lakṣmaṇa and father of Veṇīdatta, the last of whom, besides being the author of the *Alaṃkāra-candrōdaya*, wrote a commentary on Bhānu's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (see above p. 253). The present work quotes Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, and is limited chiefly to *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and treatment of the *nāyikās*.

81. VECĀRĀMA NYĀYĀLAṄKĀRĀ

Kāvya-ratnākara

The author was a Bengal writer, son of Rājārāma. He mentions this work in his *Ānanda-taraṅgiṇī*, which is an itinerary from Candannagar to Benares (Mitra 305). He also wrote a work on *jyotiṣa*, and is probably identical with Vecārāma, who wrote a commentary on Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* (see above p. 214).

82. VEṄKAṬA NĀRĀYAṆA DĪKSITA

Śṛṅgāra-sāra (*Madras Cat.* 12958-9, extract).

The author, son of Kāmeśvara Vaidika of the Goḍavarti family and Lakṣmī, refers in this work to his larger *Śṛṅgāra-sārāvalī* for fuller treatment. The present work consists of six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *nāyaka-nāyikā-lakṣaṇa-vibhāga* (3) *nāyakādi-sahāya-nirūpaṇa* (4) *rasa-bhāva-svarūpa* (5) *caturvidha-śṛṅgāra* (6) *daśarūpaka-svarūpa*. The author is said to have composed works in eight languages.

83. VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Tarkâlaṃkāra Vāgîśvara

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha (Aufrecht i 31b, iii 7b; *Madras Trm B* 319a; *Madras Cat.* 12785-89).

This writer, son of Aṇṇayācārya Dīkṣita of Tirumala Bukkapatṇam, should be distinguished from the poet Veṅkṭācārya (author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*) who was the son of Raghunātha and grandson of Appayya. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 600a.

84. VEṄKAPAYYA PRADHĀNA

Alaṃkāra-maṇi-darpaṇa (Rice 280).

86. VEṆĪDATTA ŚARMAN, TARKAVĀGĪŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Śrīvara

Alaṃkāra-candrôdaya (*IOC* 235).

This author, son of Vīreśvara (q.v.) also wrote a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (q.v.). His genealogy is given thus: Mahīdhara (a mantrika of Kāśīpati)→Kalyāṇa→Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara. He had the surname Śrīvara and belonged to *nāgacchatra-dhara-dvijôttama-kula*. The *Alaṃkāra-candrôdaya* is in 6 *ullāsas* dealing with (1) kāvya-svarūpa (2) kāvya-vibhāga (3) doṣa (4) guṇa (5) alaṃkāra and and (6) upamā.

86. ŚAṄKHA, ŚAṄKHADHARA or ŚAṄKHACŪḌA (sometimes called ŚAṄKARA

Kavi-karpaṭī

(Aufrecht i 86b, 777b, ii 6b, iii 18b. Ed. Durbhanga 1892)

The word *kavi-karpaṭī* means "the ragged cloth of a poet," and the work is a strange effort at supplying a profuse stock of expressions which may be of use in poetic compositions for ideas of frequent occurrence. Various ways of expressing one and the same thought are indicated to suit various metres. The author, who also wrote the *Laṭakamelaka-prahasana* (ed. Kāvyamālā 20, 1889), was the court-poet of *mahāmāṇḍalikādhirāja* Govinda-nṛpati, king of Kānyakubja, and wrote in the first half of the 12th century (about 1113-1143 A.D.). His verses are quoted in the anthologies of Śārṅgadhara (nos. 155, 3632) and Jalhaṇa, and in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iii 219 p. 176, *guror giraḥ pañca*, anonymously). The verse cited under Kārpaṭika in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl* 15) is attributed to Mātṛgupta by Kalhaṇa (iii 181) and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*[1] (3181).

87. ŚĀTAKARṆI

cited as a writer on Dramaturgy (on sūtradhāra) by Śaṅkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā*[2].

88. ŚAMBHUNĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇa (Aufrecht iii 7b).

89. ŚĀNTARĀJA

Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi (*Madras Trm A* 1).

The author, who probably belonged to the 18th century, was the son of Padmapaṇḍita.

1 See Peterson's paper on *Aucitya-vicāra*, 1885, p. 21.

2 *ABod* 135a. Mention is also made of an anonymous work *Kavi-kaṇṭha-hāra*.

90. ŚIVARĀMA TRIPĀṬHIN

a. *Rasa-ratna-hāra* and its commentary *Lakṣmī-vihāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 6, 1890 pp. 118-140; Aufrecht i 496, ii 116a and b, iii 106a)

b. *Alaṃkāra-samudgaka*, cited at the end of his *Rāvaṇapuravadha*, where he gives a list of his own 34 works.

For the author, son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokacandra, and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma, see *JAOS* xxiv 57-63. He appears to be a comparatively recent writer, quoting *Paribhāṣêndu-śekhara*, which alone will suffice to place him in the beginning of the 18th century. He is identical with the commentator on the *Vāsavadattā* (see ed. Bibl. Ind.); for in this commentary he refers to his *Rasa-ratna-hāra* pp. 4, 9, 193, 206, 207. This work, in 100 stanzas, deals with the characteristics of *rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*, and quotes extensively Bhānudatta and *Daśarūpaka*. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 652b, ii 155b; also Stein *Jammu Cat.* p. 292. He also appears to have written a commentary (*Viṣama-padī*) on Mammaṭa (see Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104) and a work on metrics called *Kāvya-lakṣmī-prakāśa*.

91. ŚOBHĀKARAMITRA

Alaṃkāra-ratnâkara

(Bühler *Kasmir Rep.* App. p. cxxviii: Peterson i p. 12, extract 77-81)

The author was the son of Trayīśvaramitra. The poet Yaśaskara of Kashmir extracted the *sūtras* from

this work and wrote his *Devī-stotra* for the purpose of illustrating them. These *sūtras* will be found given in Peterson, *loc. cit.* See above p. 279. Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b. The date of Śobhākara is not known, but from the definitions of *alaṃkāras* given, he appears to be a comparatively recent writer, considerably later than Ruyyaka. But as he is quoted by Jagannātha (p. 202 = *sūtra* 11) and presumably by Appayya, he is earlier than the end of the 16th century.

92. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA

Rasa-kaumudī (Aufrecht i 494a; the MS was copied in *saṃvat* 1652)

93. ŚRĪKARA MIŚRA

Alaṃkāra-tilaka (Aufrecht i 32a).

94. ŚRĪNIVĀSA DĪKSITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (Aufrecht i 31b)
b. *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (Rice 282)
c. *Kāvya-sāra-saṃgraha* (Aufrecht i 102b; *SCC* vii 19)
d. *Sāhitya-sūkṣma-saraṇi* (Rice 244).

This author may be identical with Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa, father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (q.v.). If this were so, then the *Kāvya-darpaṇa* above is the work of his son bearing the same title (see above p. 321), mistakenly entered here in most catalogues. He is cited by Veṅkaṭācārya (q.v.). As the first verse of the

third work shows, it is in three parts (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṃgraha (2) varṇa-saṃgraha and (2) subhāṣita-saṃgraha. It quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

95. SĀMARĀJA DĪKSITA

Śṛṅgārāmṛta-laharī

(ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 14; Aufrecht i 661b, ii 158a, 230b, iii 137b; *Madras Cat.* 12961).

The author, also called Śyāmarāja, was the son of Narahari Bindupurandara, and wrote also *Tripura-sundarī-mānasa-pūjana-stotra* (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 9) and other poems. He lived in Mathurā, where his descendants still flourish, at the latter part of the 17th century. His son Kāmarāja, whose *Śṛṅgāra-kalikā-kāvya* is published in Kāvyamālā pt. 14, was also a poet; while his grandson Vrajarāja and his great-grandson Jīvarāja wrote commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī* and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta respectively (q.v.). The present work deals with *rasa*, especially *śṛṅgāra*, after Bhānudatta. Our author wrote his drama *Śrīdāma carita* in 1681 A.D. for the Bundela-prince Ānandarāya. Kāmarāja also appears to have written a *Kāvyêndu-prakāśa*, which is apparently the same work as entered anonymously in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, no. 601.

96. SUKHADEVA MIŚRA

Śṛṅgāra-latā (Aufrecht i 661a).

A *bhāṣā*-work, called *Rasárṇava*, by Sukhadeva is mentioned in Peterson iv no. 770 (App. p. 29).

97. SUKHALĀLA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (*AFl* 213).

The author, pupil of Gaṅgeśa Miśra and his son Hariprasāda (q.v.), professes to follow the *kārikās* of Jayadeva. Aufrecht thinks he must have flourished about 1740 A.D. The work begins with *upamā* and takes up *rūpaka*, *pariṇāma*, *smṛtimān*, *bhrāntimān*, *sandeha*, *utprekṣā*, where the MS breaks off. A *kāvya* called *Śṛṅgāra-mālā*, composed in 1745, by Sukhalāla, son of Bāburāya Miśra, is entered in Stein 75.

98. SUDHĀKARA PUṆḌARĪKA YĀJIN

Śṛṅgāra-sārōdadhi (Aufrecht iii 137b).

99. SUDHĪNDRA YOGIN

Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa (*Madras Cat.* 12676, extract).

It is a short work on arthâlaṃkāra. The colophon gives the author's name as above; but in the work it is said that the author, following the views of ancient and modern authorities on the subject, deals with and illustrates the *arthālaṃkāras* by means of examples eulogising the virtues of Sudhīndra Yogin who is made out to be a follower of the Mādhava sect. He is probably the same as Sudhīndra Yati, pupil of Vijayendra Yati, who wrote the *Mādhu-dhārā* commentary on Trimalla Bhaṭṭa's (q.v.) *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī* (Burnell 57a). The *Alaṃkāra-nikarṣa* by Sudhendra in Oppert 4797 is probably this work. A drama called *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* is attributed to

Sudhīndra Yati in *Madras Cat.* xxi no. 12729 and a drama called *Subhadrā-dhanañjaya* to Vijayendra Yati in *ibid* no. 12728.

100. SUNDARA MIŚRA

Nāṭya-pradīpa (Aufrecht i 284b, 791a).

The work is dated in 1613 A.D. It cited by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (ed. N. S. P. 1886, p. 6). This work repeats *verbatim* a large portion of the *Daśarūpaka* (see pref. to Hall's ed.). In the work itself the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is referred to. The author is probably the same as Sundara Miśra who wrote the *Abhirāmamaṇi-nāṭaka* in 7 acts in 1599 A. D. (*ABod* 137b- 138a : Kielhorn *Central Prov.* p. 68 : Wilson ii p. 395).

101. SOMANĀRYA

Nāṭya-cūḍāmaṇi (*Madras Cat.* 12998, with Telegu commentary).

This is a work on mimic, dancing and music. The author is described as one famous for *aṣṭāvadhāna* attention to eight things at a time).

102. HARIDĀSA

Prastāva-ratnākara (Weber 827 ; Aufrecht i 360a, ii 212a iii 77a).

The author was the son of Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family, and the work is a metrical compilation dealing with *kūṭa*, *samasyā* and enigmatic composition in general, as well as miscellaneous subjects including *nīti*, *jyotiṣa* etc. It was compiled in 1557 A.D.

103. HARIPRASĀDA

a. *Kāvyártha-gumpha* (Aufrecht ii 20b)

b. *Kāvyáloka* (Aufrecht i 103a, extract in Peterson iii p. 356-7).

The second work in seven *prakāśas* is dated in *saṃvat* 1734 = 1728 A.D. A MS of the first work bears the date 1775 which is possibly the date also of its composition. He is also the author of a work on *ācāra* (*māsádi-nirūpaṇa*), see Peterson iv p. cxxxvii. One *Kāvyáloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā*; but this must have been an earlier work. The *Kāvyáloka* cited by Kumārasvāmin p. 73 refers the *Dhvanyáloka* (p. 221), and is not, as supposed by Haricānd Śāstrī (p. 27, no. 234) a reference to the present work. The author was the son of Māthura Miśra Gaṅgeśa.

104. HARIHARA

a. *Śṛṅgāra-bheda-pradīpa* (Burnell 59a)

b. *Bindvalaṃkāra*, cited in the *Ekāvalī* p. 242.

One Harihara is referred to in the *Ekāvalī* p. 19 as having received amazing wealth from king Arjuna, who is suppesed by Bhandarkar and Trivedī (see above p. 227) to be identical with Arjunavarman of Mālava, whose earliest and latest known dates are 1211 and 1216 A.D. If this Harihara be our author, then his date will be the first quarter of the 13th century.

105. HALADHARA RATHA

Kāvya-tattva-vicāra

(H. P. Śāstrī's *Report*, 1895-1900, p. 16).

(2)

ANONYMOUS WORKS

We give below some notable minor works on Alaṃkāra, of which the names of the authors are unknown :—

1. *Alaṃkāra-kārikā.* Aufrecht i 31b.

2. *Alaṃkāra-kaumudī-vyākhyā Madras Cat.* 12784. Neither the name of the author of the original treatise nor that of the commentary is given. It treats of the poetic figures.

3. *Alaṃkāra-candrikā.* Rice 284 (Aufrecht i 32).

4. *Alaṃkāra-darpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 *ślokas* devoted to the treatment of poetic figures. *Monatsber. Berl. Akad.* 1874, 282.

5. *Alaṃkāra-prakaraṇa. ŚgŚ* i no. 52.

6. *Alaṃkāra-prakāśikā. Madras Cat.* 12791. It deals with the poetic figures and quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa.*

7. *Alaṃkāra-mayūkha.* Oppert 1754 (Aufrecht i 32).

8. *Alaṃkāra-vādârtha* on the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa. HPS* i 12.

9. *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha. Madras Cat.* 12795. It enumerates and classifies the various poetic figures.

10. *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva. Madras Cat.* 12798. The author says that his teacher composed a work on Alaṃkāra in praise of king Gopāladeva. It is a treatise on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, but the MS is incomplete, breaking off with the *guṇa-prakaraṇa.*

11. *Alaṃkārânukramaṇikā.* Oppert 5489 (Aufrecht i 32b).

12. *Alaṃkāreśvara,* cited by Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* p. 4.

13. *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa.* See above p. 292. *Madras Cat.* 12802.

14. *Kavi-kapalatikā.* Burnell 54a.

15. *Kāvya-kalāpa.* Aufrecht i 100b.

16. *Kāvya-kaustubha.* Oppert ii 3616 (Aufrecht i 101a).

17. *Kāvya-kaumudī.* Mitra 2044 (Aufrecht i 101a). Is it the same as *Kāvya-kaumudī* by Ratnabhūṣaṇa.

18. *Kāvya-dīpikā.* Oppert 541, 636; *Madras Cat.* 12815. A compilation for beginners. Probably the same as Kānticandra's *Kāvya-dīpikā* (see p. 287).

19. *Kāvya-pariccheda.* Oppert ii 8727.

20. *Kāvya ratna.* Oppert ii 6237. See above p. 264.

21. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa.* *Madras Cat.* 12829. It is based on the *kārikās* of *Kāvya-prakāśa,* but adds a section on dramaturgy (cf. Oppert 1793 and ii 6238).

22. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-vicāra.* *Madras Cat.* 12979. A comparatively modern work on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, citing the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara.*

23. *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* or *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana.* Mitra 2674 (Aufrecht i 103a). The MS goes up to the 7th *ullāsa.*

24. *Kāvyôpadeśa,* cited by Hemādri on *Raghu* (Aufrecht i 103a).

25. *Daśarūpaka-vivaraṇa.* *Madras Cat.* 12892. This work is not a commentary on the *Daśarūpaka,* but a short treatise, mostly in the nature of a compilation, explaining the characteristics of dramatic composition. It may have formed the *nāṭaka*-section of some comprehensive work on Poetics.

26. *Nāṭaka-ratna-koṣa,* cited by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji. *ABod* 182b.

27. *Nāṭakâvatāra,* mentioned by Mohanadāsa. *ABod* 142a.

28. *Nāṭya-darpaṇa,* cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramôrvaśī* (ed. N. S. P. 1914, p. 7) and Bharata-mallika on Bhaṭṭi xiv 3. See p. 308, no. 67 above.

29. *Rasa-kalikā,* cited by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañj°* (Aufrecht i 494a).

30. *Rasa-kaumudī.* Peterson v no. 414.

31. *Rasa-gandha.* Rice 286 (Aufrecht i 494b).

32. *Rasa-gāndhāra.* Aufrecht i 494b (may be a mistake for *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha).

33. *Rasa-ratnâkara,* cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* ix 71 and on *Meghadūta* (ed. Nandargikar, 1894, pp. 64, 67. 85, 91). Aufrecht i 496a (commentary by Hṛdayarāma Miśra). An anonymous *Rasa-ratna-koṣa* is mentioned in Aufrecht i 495b but it may be Kumbha's work of the same name (see p. 288).

34. *Rasa-bindu* and *Rasâmṛta-sindhu.* Kathvate no. 703 and 707.

35. *Rasa-viveka. Madras Trm C* 589. (Cf Oppert 5144).

36. *Rasa-samuccaya.* Aufrecht i 496b.

37. *Rasa-sāgara,* cited by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* xv 89.

38. *Rasa-sudhâkara,* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghu* vi 12. Is it *Rasârṇava-sudhâkara* of Śiṅgabhūpāla which Mallinātha cites in his com. on *Kumāra* ?

39. *Rasâkara,* cited by Mallinātha on *Meghadūta* (ed. *ibid,* p. 87, 97).

40. *Rasika-sarvasva,* cited by Nārāyaṇa on *Gīta-govinda* v 2.

41. *Rahasya,* probably an abbreviation of some more definite title, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii 60, xiv 40, on *Śiśu* xiii 10.

42. *Śṛṅgāra-kaustubha.* Rice 288 (Aufrecht i 660b).

43. *Śṛṅgāra-candrôdaya,* cited in *Prastāva-cintāmaṇi.* Weber i p. 229.

44. *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī.* Oppert 2465: Rice 288 (= Aufrecht i 660b).

45. *Śṛṅgāra-pavana.* Oppert 5766 (Aufrecht 661a).

46. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī.* Aufrecht i 661a.

47. *Śṛṅgāra-vidhi.* Oppert 5680 (Aufrecht i 661a).

48. *Śṛṅgārâdi-rasa.* Mitra 606.

It is not always clear, from the citations or descriptions in the catalogues, whether some of the

works on *rasa* and *śṛṅgāra* noted here are really works on Poetics or partake of the nature of an erotic *kāvya.* But care has been taken to exclude the latter wherever possible.

Among very recent publications (in Sanskrit) on Poetics, produced late in the 19th century, may be mentioned ;

(1) *Alaṃkāra-muktâvali* by Rāmasudhīśvara, son of Nṛsiṃha. (ed. with comm. *Ratnaśobhākara* by Kṛṣṇa sūri. Vizagapatam 1897, 1898).

(2) *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* by Candrakānta Tarkalaṃkāra, a Bengal Pandit who lived within living memory. (Publ. Calcutta 1899).

(3) *Yaśovanta-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* by Pandit Rāmakarṇa in praise of the native prince of Rajaputana of that name. (Publ. Godhapur 1897).

(4) *Alaṃkāra-maṇi-hāra* by Śrīkṛṣṇa Brahmacārin.

XXX CONCLUSION

(1)

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages not only to indicate the diversity as well as immensity of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature, but also to settle its relative chronology as a workable basis for an historical treatment. If we leave aside its unknown beginnings and Bharata, the historic period of its growth covers broadly a thousand years from 800 to 1800 A.D., and is marked a speculative activity, surprising alike for its magnitude and its minuteness. This activity in its early stage centres round Kashmir, to which place belong most of the famous and original writers on Poetics. We do not indeed know the place of origin of the two earliest writers, Bharata and Bhāmaha, but immediately after them we find Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Ānandavardhana, Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Kuntala, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka flourishing in Kashmir. The only important exception is found in Daṇḍin who was probably a South Indian writer. Coming to later times we find the study extending itself to Central India, Guzerat, the Dekkan and even Bengal. In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original, writers: but these contributions of later times,

though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness, never supersede the volume of original work done in Kashmir, which may be fittingly regarded as the home-land, if not the birthplace, of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra. The writers of Central India, Guzerat, the Dekkan and Bengal only carry on the tradition, as well as acknowledge the authority, of the Kashmirian originators of the science.

(2)

Although our history covers a period of more than a thousand years, it is yet marked by several well-defined stages. With the date of Ānandavardhana, we arrive for the first time at a distinct landmark in its chronology as well as its history; and we may take it as the central point from which we may proceed backwards and forwards, although the system of Ānandavardhana itself was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the classical work of Mammaṭa. The mutual relation of this system to the other systems flourishing before and after Ānandavardhana furnishes the best and safest criterion for the orientation of the divergent streams of thoughts and tendencies, which gather together in one clear, dominant and finally authoritative doctrine in Mammaṭa. Indeed, one of the obvious objects of Ānandavardhana's work was not only to fix the new principle of *dhvani* in poetry, but also to work up and rationalise into a synthetic and comprehensive system the already accumulated

ideas, elaborated by previous thinkers but flowing through different channels in the respective systems of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and the post-Bharata dramaturgic *rasa*-writers ; while Mammaṭa gathered the results up and uttered them in the convenient and concise form of a systematic text-book.

(3)

Although in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, the earliest known work on Poetics, we meet for the first time with a more or less systematic scheme of Poetics, there is enough evidence to show that it must have been preceded by a period, covering perhaps several centuries, of unknown beginnings. All that we know of this period consists of glimpses of rhetorical speculations, such as we may find in Bharata, in the recorded opinions of (or stray references to) pre-Bhāmaha writers like Medhāvin, or in such treatises on Alaṃkāra as was presumably utilised by the *kāvya*-poets in general and by Bhaṭṭi in particular. This period begins with the enumeration and definition of only four poetic figures, ten *guṇas* and ten *doṣas*, but ends with the elaborate characterisation of thirty-eight independent figures in Bhaṭṭi. But what is important to note in this period is Bharata's more or less elaborate exposition of Dramaturgy, and incidentally of *rasa*, which element however, is considered, not in relation to Poetry and Poetics, but in connexion with Drama and Dramaturgy.

This is followed by a comparatively brief but important period of extraordinary fertility and creative genius, beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ānandavardhana, in which we find most of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics discussed and settled in their general outlines. We have, on the one hand, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, devoting themselves to the consideration of those decorative devices of poetic expression known as *alaṃkāras* (poetic figures), and confining themselves chiefly to an external art or theory of adornment, from which the science itself takes its name and its original tradition. Daṇḍin and Vāmana, on the other hand, emphasise in poetry the objective beauty of representation realised by means of what they call *mārga* or *rīti* (roughly 'diction') and its constituent excellences, the ten *guṇas*. Both these systems, which emphasise respectively the elements of *alaṃkāra* and *rīti* in poetry, content themselves with the working out of the outward forms of expression, the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry. They point out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and describe the poetical embellishments which should enhance its beauty, insomuch so that the whole discipline came to receive the significant designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra or the Science of Poetical Embellishment.

Side by side with these early writers, however, we have the commentators on Bharata (like Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others) who were bringing into

prominence the aesthetic importance of *rasa*, the consideration of the moods, sentiments and feelings, which we find reacting upon and influencing even the theorists of rival persuasion (e.g. Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa) who betray themselves more and more alive to the significance of this element in poetry. But the discussion of *rasa* appears to have been, so far, confined chiefly to the sphere of the dramatic art, and its bearings on poetry were not fully realised until the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana had come into the field.

These new theorists, headed by Ānandavardhana, maintain that no system of Poetics, like no system of Dramaturgy, can entirely ignore the moods, feelings and sentiments, as essential factors in poetry, and must therefore find an important place for *rasa* in its scheme. What was thus already established in the drama was taken over and applied to poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of a *kāvya*. The *rasa* came to be considered as the "essence" (*ātman*) of poetry ; and in order to harmonise it in poetic theory, the new school evolved a theory of "suggestion" (*dhvani*) as the means of its expression. Not satisfied, however, with working up the concept of *rasa* into their system, the new theorists devoted themselves to the examination of the already accumulated ideas of *alaṃkāra* and *rīti* (with its constituent *guṇa* and *doṣa*), with a view to correlate them to the new idea of *dhvani* (and *rasa*), and thus by synthesis evolve a comprehensive theory of Poetics.

The interval between Ānandavardhana and

Mammaṭa was taken up in settling precisely the the details of the new system, which was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the final text-book of Mammaṭa. Its success was so complete that the new concept of *dhvani* was unquestionably accepted by most later writers, and the systems which emerged after Mammaṭa could no longer be strictly regarded as entirely independent systems.

(4)

But a new theory, however systematic or comprehensive, is never accepted without some opposition. Ānanda's system, no doubt, absorbed and overshadowed in course of time all the earlier systems; but in the interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, while it was still striving for supremacy, we find a few vigorous but short-lived reactionary movements which refused to accept Ānandavardhana's new interpretation. Thus we have Kuntala who strove to make Bhāmaha's concept of *vakrôkti* elaborate and comprehensive enough to include the new ideas, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who raised his voice on behalf of the *rasa*-systems against their acceptance, and Mahimabhaṭṭa who attempted to settle the new concept of *dhvani* with the technical process of logical inference. All these writers, however, do not deny the newly established doctrine of *dhvani*, but they try to explain it in terms of already recognised ideas. In spite of these non-conformist schools, however, whose feeble opposition languished for want of support even in the time of Mammaṭa, the system

of Poetics, as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana and worked out in detail by Mammaṭa and his followers, was established without question in almost all writings from the 12th century downwards. Here and there we have some surviving exponents of some old tradition, like the Vāgbhaṭas or the followers of Bhoja, as well as specialised departments which stood apart like the school of *kaviśikṣā*-writers or the erotic *rasa*-writers; but in the main, the creative days of the science were over, and no new theory forthcoming, the system of Ānandavardhana, as represented by Mammaṭa, reigned supreme, even influencing, to an obvious extent, the writers who would pretend to stand apart.

(5)

These considerations, which will become clearer as we proceed in our study of details in the next volume, will enable us to fix the rough outlines of the history of Sanskrit Poetics and divide it, for convenience of treatment, into several periods in conformity to chronology and the stages of development through which its doctrines passed. The dim beginnings of the science, like the beginnings of most other departments of Indian speculation, are hidden from us, until it issues forth in the works of Bharata and Bhāmaha in a more or less self-conscious form. Then starts a period, ending with Ānandavardhana, which may be characterised as the most creative stage in its history, a stage in which the dogmas and doctrines of the different systems were formulated

and settled in their general outlines, giving us at least four different systems which emphasise respectively the theories of *rasa*, of *alaṃkāra*, of *rīti* and of *dhvani* in poetry. To this period belong Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the commentators on Bharata (Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others), the *Agni-purāṇa*, and lastly, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, we have a third definitive period which ends with the ultimate standardisation of a complete scheme of Poetics, with the *dhvani*-theory in its centre, in which the divergent gleams of earlier speculations are harmonised into a focus, and which finds itself finally set forth in a well-defined and precise form in the text-book of Mammaṭa. To this period also belong the reactionary theorists, like Kuntala and Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as Bhoja who carries on the tradition of the *Agni-purāṇa*, and Dhanañjaya who writes on Dramaturgy. The period which follows this is necessarily a scholastic period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth in a systematic form (generally after Mammaṭa) the results of these final speculations, and also in indulging in fine distinctions and hair-splitting refinements on minute questions. This stage, therefore, is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius; but at the same time it denotes a progressive deterioration of the study itself. The branching-off of some specialised and practical groups of writers from the main stem is to be explained as due rather to this degenerate spirit of the times

than to any real split in the domain of poetic theory or to any desire for independent thinking. It is also the age of numberless commentators, and commentators on commentators, who busied themselves with the hardly inspiring task of explanation, of expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also now a number of popular writers who wanted to simplify the science for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to the manuals and school-books of quite recent times.

(6)

We may, therefore, conclude here by broadly indicating the bearings of the chronological results of this volume on our study in general, in the light of which (as well as in the light of what follows in the next volume) we may tentatively put forward a rough division of the different periods of our history noting the different groups of writers comprised in them, with a view to facilitate the study of the problems which will confront us in the next volume:

I. From the unknown Beginnings to Bhāmaha. (Formative Stage).

II. From Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana. *Circa* middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century. (Creative Stage).

(1) Bhāmaha,, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa (*alaṃkāra*-theory)

(2) Daṇḍin and Vāmana (*rīti*-theory)

(3) Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others (*rasa*-theory)
(4) The *Agni-purāṇa*
(5) The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (*dhvani*-theory).

III. From Ānandavardhana to Mammaṭa. *Circa* middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century. (Definitive Stage).

(1) Abhinavagupta
(2) Kuntala
(3) Mahimabhaṭṭa
(4) Rudrabhaṭṭa and Dhanañjaya
(5) Bhoja.

IV. From Mammaṭa to Jagannātha. *Circa* middle of the 11th to the 18th century. (Scholastic Stage).

(1) Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha (including Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Jayadeva, Appayya and others)
(2) The Vāgbhaṭas
(3) The writers on *rasa*, especially *śṛṅgāra*: Śāradātanaya, Śiṅgabhūpāla, Bhānudatta, Rūpa Gosvāmin and others.
(4) The writers on *kavi-śikṣā*: Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, Deveśvara and others.
(5) Jagannātha.

(7)

Looking at the question from another point of view, we may classify the systems of Poetics broadly into (1) Pre-dhvani (2) Dhvani and (3) Post-dhvani systems, taking the *dhvani*-theory as the central landmark. In the Pre-dhvani group, we include all writers (flourishing before Ānandavardhana), mentioned in groups I and II above, with the exception of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, with whose names the Dhvani-system is associated. In the Post-dhvani systems may be comprised the followers of the Dhvani-system from Mammaṭa to Jagannātha, together with reactionary or unorthodox authors like Kuntala or Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as the writers on *śṛṅgāra* and on *kavi-śikṣā*. On the other hand, the systems of Poetics have been grouped, on the basis of the particular theory emphasised by a particular group of writers, into (1) the Rasa School (2) the Alaṃkāra School (3) the Rīti School and (4) the Dhvani School[1]. The convenience of this classifica-

1 Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 387f. Reliance has been placed on Ruyyaka's review of previous opinions and Samudrabandha's classification. But Ruyyaka only takes the concept of *dhvani* or *pratīyamāna artha* as the starting point and considers how far it was accepted, explicitly or implicitly, by his predecessors. Samudrabandha, commenting on this passage, speaks of five *pakṣas* or theses, including the *dhvani*-theory (which he calls the last *pakṣa*) with which his author identifies himself. His classification is based upon the conventional theory that poetry consists of a "special" disposition of word and its sense (*viśiṣṭa śabda* and *artha*). This speciality, in his opinion,

tion is obvious, but it is doubtful whether we may safely apply the term "School" to indicate affiliation to a particular system of opinion, when we consider that one has to admit a great deal of mutual and (to a certain extent) inevitable contamination of the different "schools", which makes the existence of any particular school *by itself* almost impossible. Thus the "Dhvani School" admits *rasa* and *alaṃkāra* as important factors of poetry, which are thus not exclusively monopolised by the so-called Alaṃkāra and Rasa Schools. It is doubtful, again, if a Rasa School, properly so-called was at all founded by Bharata, who is taken as its original exponent, or a similar Alaṃkāra School by Bhāmaha. All that we can

may be realised by putting emphasis on their (1) *dharma* (inherent characteristic) (2) *vyāpāra* (operation) and (3) *vyaṅgya* (suggestiveness). In the first case, the *dharma* may proceed from *alaṃkāra* and *guṇa* (i.e. *rīti*). In the second case, the *vyāpāra* may consist of *bhaṇiti-prakāra* or *bhogīkaraṇa*. Thus we get five standpoints associated respectively with the names of Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Kuntala, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Ānandavardhana. This classification, though very significant, is obviously overlapping and historically incorrect. The *vyañjanā*, it may be objected, which is taken as one of the bases of differentiation, is admittedly as much a *vyāpāra* as *bhaṇiti* postulated by Kuntala. Besides, Kuntala, as a matter of fact, developes Bhāmaha's idea of *vakrôkti* as *bhaṇiti-vaicitrya*, and therefore may be properly included among those who put emphasis on *alaṃkāra*. Similarly Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka describes *bhoga* as a peculiar function (*dharma*) or process by which *rasa* is said to be realised; and therefore he is in reality an exponent of the *rasa*-theory as an interpreter of Bharata's dictum.

say is that Bharata and Bhāmaha laid stress on the elements of *rasa* and *alaṃkāra* which became in course of time established ideas in the realm of Poetics. As a rule, each great writer who puts forward, consciously or unconsciously, a new theory, takes over from his predecessors those ideas which have stood the test of criticism and which he can combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way, really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although sometimes other ideas, perhaps of the same author, have by common consent been rejected. This is illustrated by the case of the Varkôkti-jīvita-kāra, whose theory of *vakrôkti* was universally rejected, although the main principle for which he was contending is accepted by Ruyyaka and others. It is not maintained here that the history of Sanskrit Poetics consists of only *one* stream of development, and that within it we have mere currents and counter-currents. The latter were indeed very important, but they never succeeded in forming into separate rivers; and the different channels originating independently or breaking away from the main course ultimately unite into one dominant and clear stream.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 2, fn 2 at p. 3.—The *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* has been translated into English by A. Coomarsvamy and G. K. Duggirala (Cambridge, Mss. 1917).

P. 4, l. 13.—Undue emphasis appears to have been laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature by Kane in *IA* xli, 1912, pp. 120f., and following him, by B. K. Bhaṭṭācārya in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. ix, 1923, pp. 100f.

P. 11, fn. 1.—The passage occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn p. 19, l. 20.

P. 22.—Add Bibliography to Ch. I: Kane in *IA* xli, 1912, pp. 120f; Sovani in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, January 1920; Winternitz in *Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii p. 4f; Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi p. 392f, in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxii, 1922, p. 220f. For general remarks on the subject, see Oldenberg in *Die Lit. des Alten Indien*, Berlin 1903, pp. 203f, Jacobi in *Internat. Wochenschrift*, October 29, 1910.

P. 23, fn 1.—Add H. P. Śāstrī in *JASB* vi, 1910, 307; Kane in *IA* xlvi, 1917, p. 177f; Jacobi in *Bhavisatta kaha* p. 54, fn; Winternitz, *op.* cit. iii p. 8, fn 3.

P. 26, fn 1, at p. 27 (also p. 37).—A poet Rāhulaka is quoted in Śārṅgadhara 3875. Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes Rāhula, along with Śākyācārya, as an authority presumably on the dramatic *rasa* with

the pointed remark that as a follower of Bharata he himself has ignored their views. Rāhula is also cited by Sarvānanda on Amara (*ŚyŚ* ii p. 30).

P. 28.—Bharata mentions Śāṇḍilya and Dhūrtila as two of his predecessors in the treatment of the subject of dramaturgy. Of these, Śāṇḍilya is mentioned as a *nāṭyaśāstra-kāra* by Śiṅgabhūpāla i 51.

P. 32, l. 5.—Winternitz (*op. cit.* p. 5, fn 2, at p. 6) notes that in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* iii 6, the muni Bharata is called an early teacher of the Gāndharva-veda (i.e. music). Winternitz also appears to accept the view (*op. cit.* p. 9) that Mātṛgupta wrote a commentary on Bharata.

P. 36.—B. N. Bhaṭṭācārya (*op. cit.* p. 113) argues from a reference to Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* and the portions of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* which deal with erotics, the more elementary character of the former work, inasmuch as certain minute details of classification indulged in by the latter are not to be met with in the former work. But the illustration he adduces (viz. the classification of heroes and heroines) does not appear to be very much to the point; for the two writers approach the topic from entirely different standpoints and adopt different principles of classification. The same writer also argues (p. 116) with reference to Bharata and the so-called works of Bhāsa, that the dramaturgic treatise, if any, which existed in the latter's time, was not Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but one of its forerunners. We have avoided a discussion of this point, in view of the doubts which have been raised as to authorship of these dramas, and the correctness of the attribution to Bhāsa.

P. 38.—The only direct quotation from Lollaṭa (and not a mere consideration of his views) is to be found in Hemacandra p. 215 (two verses).

P. 42.—Sovani in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 450f substantially agrees with our conclusion as to the nature of the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* which he considers to be an an independent metrical treatise with prose-*vṛtti*.

P. 44.—Add in the Bibliography: Max Lindenau in *Beitraege zur altindischen Rasa-lehre, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung des Nāṭyaśāstra* (Diss.) Leipzig 1913. An article by the present writer of the outlines of the *rasa*-theory from Bharata to Jagannātha (with the text of Abhinava's commentary on Bharata's *sūtra* on *rasa*) is being published in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta University, vol. iii (orientalia).

P. 48, fn 1.—Add Nobel in *ZDMG* lxxiii p. 192 and Winternitz *op. cit.* iii p. 11, fn 1. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī (introd. to ed. Bhāsa), referring to this passage in Bhāmaha, contends that "Bhāmaha lived much prior to Kālidāsa" who, in his opinion, defends in his *Meghadūta* i 5 the poetic propriety of employing the clouds as messengers. This theory, as well as the conclusion that Bhāmaha's date is much earlier than Guṇāḍhya's, advanced by that scholar, appears to be very doubtful.

P. 48, fn 3.—On Bhāmaha's date, see also Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* p. 392f, Trivedī in *ibid* p. 401f. Also see *IA* xli, 90f, and Jacobi in *Bhavisatta kaha* p. 54, fn 1.

P. 50, l. 18.—Read "500 and 650 A.D."

P. 50 fn 2.—Add "p. 130f" in the reference.

The date assigned by Jacobi to Bhāmaha in this article is now abondoned by him.

P. 57 fn 1.—Winternitz (*op. cit.* iii 405) thinks that the two Bhāmahas are probably identical. But it may be submitted that there is no material either to prove or disprove the identity.

P. 55-6.—Winternitz (*op. cit.* iii p. 71, fn 2) does not appear to have come to any conclusion as to the question regarding the source which Bhaṭṭi utilised for his illustration of poetic figures.

P. 62, fn 1.—A résumé of the Tibetan version of Daṇḍin's text is given by Thomas in *JRAS* 1903. An edition of this text is undertaken by the Calcutta University.

P. 63, fn 3.—Add "pp. 143-146" after the reference to Kielhorn. See also *JRAS*, 1908, p. 497f. But D. R. Bhandarkar (*EI* ix p. 187f) and Klatt (*WZKM* iv, 1890, p. 61f; also Jacobi in *ibid* p. 236f) place Māgha in the beginning of the 8th and beginning of the 10th century respectively. There are several other verses in Māgha which betray an acquaintance with Poetics and Dramaturgy, e.g. ii 8, 86, 87; xiv 50; xix 41; xx 44 (where he refers to Bharata).

P. 64, fn 1, l. 1.—Add (after *IA*) "xli"; *l. 2*, add (after *ibid*) "1908". The question has also been briefly discussed by Nobel (in *ZDMG* lxxiii, 1919, pp. 190f) who maintains the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. See also his *Beitraege zur aelteren Geschichte des Alaṃkāra-śāstra* (Berlin 1911) p. 78.

P. 66, l 30.—Read "i *śl* 7".

P. 73, l. 19—Stein gives the form Vādighaṅghala.

P. 81.—Vāmana quotes also (*dordaṇḍāñcita*°,

l. 2, 12 *vṛtti*) from Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīra-carita* i 54 (ed. N. S. P. 1910). He also quotes (IV. 3. 10 *vṛtti, utkau yadi vyomni*) from Māgha iii 8, and also from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. On Vāmana's date, see also *JRASBom* xxiii p. 92f.

P. 85, l. 3.—Add the reference "on II. 2. 21" after *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana*.

P. 86.—Abhinavagupta (p. 45) also quotes anonymously a *kārikā*-verse of Rudraṭa's (vii 38)—a fact which confirms the lower limit given by us for Rudraṭa's date.

P. 88, fn 1.—Add the reference "p. 130f".

P. 89, fn 3.—Add (after *ZDMG*) the reference xxxix p. 314.

P. 95, fn 1, at p. 96.—The verse *ambā śete'tra* is quoted by Ānandavardhana p. 105; so the attribution to Rudraṭa is doubtful. Śiṅgabhūpāla quotes from and refers to the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* under the name Rudraṭa. Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxvi (1912) maintains the identity of Rudra and Rudraṭa.

P. 97, fn 3.—Peterson (*Subhāṣ*° p. 114) thinks that the anthology-compiler Vallabhadeva could not have flourished before Jainôllabhadīna whose date is given by Cunningham as 1417-1467 A.D.

P. 99.—Winternitz (*op. cit.* ii p. 354, fn 5) assigns 1236-1244 A.D. as the date of Āśādhara's literary activity. See also Kielhorn in *EI* ix p. 107f.

P. 117.—Both the *Arjuna-carita* and the *Viṣama-bāṇa-līlā* are mentioned and quoted by Hemacandra (pp. 213 and 15) and by Abhinavagupta pp. 176, and 152, 222.

P. 120, l. 12.—Add the reference "vol. ix".

P. 123, fn 2.—The editors of Rājaśekhara's *Kāv. mīm* report an opinion that the apperciatory verses attributed to Rājaśekhara by Jalhaṇa are to be found in another work of our poet, named *Kavi-vimarśa*. But this so-called *Kavi-vimarśa* might have been another name for his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā kavi-rahasya*, in the published text of which, however, the verses do not occur. The date of Rājaśekhara given by the editors is 880-920 A.D.

P. 126.—One Aparājita-rakṣita is also quoted in the *Kavi. vacana. samuc.*; but the name implies that he was probably a Buddhist, and is possibly not identical with Rājaśekhara's contemporary Aparājita (see Thomas, introd. to *ibid* p. 20).

P. 150, para 4, l. 3.—Add "and Stein p. 275".

P. 162.—Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxvi, 1912, p. 477f has considered the question of the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in detail. He attempts to demonstrate by a comparison of the "two parts" of the work that while Allaṭa (author of the latter end) depends for his whole material upon Rudraṭa, Mammaṭa, although borrowing a great deal from the same source, follows older authors like Udbhaṭa. The point, however, appears to have been a little over-worked. Sukthankar's contention loses much of its force when we consider that *both* Mammaṭa and Allaṭa have made use of Rudraṭa's definitions and illustrations, and that a distinction in their respective treatment cannot, therefore, be very pointedly based on this consideration alone. The same scholar also argues (p. 533f) that a portion of the *vṛtti* to the definition of the poetic figure *samuccaya* in the

Kāvya-prakāśa does not originate either from Mammaṭa or Allaṭa but must be regarded as an interpolation.

P. 216.—A Pakṣadhara Upādhyāya is cited, apparently as a commentator on Mammaṭa, by Bhīmasena (see above p. 184); it is not known if this Pakṣadhara has anything to do with the logician Pakṣadhara.

P. 217 footnote 3 at p. 218.—The attribution of the *Pañcāśikā* to Bilhaṇa is generally accepted (Winternitz *op. cit.* iii p. 117), and the poet Cora or Caura may not have anything to do with the *Pañcāśikā*; but it is curious to note that a verse from the *Pañcāśikā* (ed. Solf. no. 36) is quoted anonymously by Dhanika (ed. N. S. P. 1917, p. 85, on iv 23). The same verse is also quoted by Kuntala (i 49 *vṛtti*) who, like Bhoja (who quotes the *Pañcāśikā*, see above p. 144), may have been one of Bilhaṇa's contemporaries: but Dhanika certainly lived in the reign of Bhoja's predecessor Muñja and thus flourished presumably before the date generally assigned to Bilhaṇa. The same verse is attributed to one Kalaśa in *Subhāṣ*° 1280 and in Jalhaṇa 74a. These facts may raise the doubt that the text as well as the authorship of the *Pañcāśikā* is by no means an absolutely settled fact.

PP. 217, 223.—On *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi* see Schmidt *Ind. Erotik*, 1911, pp. 33f. It is nothing more than a treatment of Vātsyāyana's teachings in *āryā*-verses.

P. 234, fn 1.—M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, 1906, p. 167 points out that Jayadeva is quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara and therefore must be placed before 1206 A.D.

P. 249-50.—B. N. Bhaṭṭācārya (*op. cit.* p.163) refers to a tradition among Bihar Pandits that Bhānudatta's father wrote the *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*, and that his grandfather Śaṅkara Miśra, who wrote a commentary on Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya*, flourished about 1405 A.D. But this tradition is unreliable in view of Bhānu's genealogy given by himself in his *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*, which tells us that the name of Bhānu's grandfather was Mahādeva and not Śaṅkara (see above p. 250), although the name of the fathers of both Śaṅkara and Mahādeva appears to be Bhavanātha.

P. 251.—On °*Parimala* by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, add at the end of the paragraph "Extract in Mitra 3115, Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 365."

P. 296, no. 34.—Although the commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita on the *Nāṭaka-dīpa* is placed by Rice under Alaṃkāra as a commentary presumably on Tryambaka's work, Aufrecht (i 791a) points out that it is undoubtedly a commentary on the Nāṭaka-dīpa in the *Pañcadaśī*. So delete the entry here, and correct this error copied in Schuyler's *Bibliography* p. 18 and in Haricānd Śāstrī p. 35, no. 369.

P. 325, no. 30.—Add "See above p. 293."

ABBREVIATIONS

Aufrecht = Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. i-iii. Leipzig 1891-1903.

ABod = Aufrecht's Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Oxonii 1864.

AFl = Aufrecht's = Florentine Sanskrit MSS. Leipzig 1892.

ALeip = Aufrecht's Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. Leipzig 1901.

Bendall = Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum. London 1902.

Bhandarkar. R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS are quoted with reference to the particular years of the operations, as indicated on the respective title-page of the Reports. Other lists by him are as in Aufrecht. Śrīdhar Bhandarkar's Reports and Catalogues are separately referred to.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica Series of Sanskrit publications.

Bik. = Rājendralāla Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner. Calcutta 1880.

Br. Mus. = British Museum.

B. S. S. = Bombay Sanskrit Series. Ben. S. S. = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Burnell = Burnell's Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.

Comm. = Commentary.

Deccan Coll. Cat. = Śrīdhar Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS deposited in the Daccan College. Bombay 1888.

Ed. = edition or edited.

EI = Epigraphia Indica.

F = following. Fn = Footnote.

GgA = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN = Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Hall *Index* = Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical systems. Calcutta 1859.

HPS = Haraprasād Śāstrī's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series. i-iv (continued). Also his *Report* 1895-1900.

Haricānd Śāstrī = Haricānd Śāstrī's Kālidāsa et L'Art Poétique de l'Inde. Paris 1917.

Hultzsch = Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India. i 1895 ; ii 1896 ; iii 1905. Madras 1895-1905.

IA = Indian Antiquary.

IOC = Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library. Vol. iii deals with works on Alaṃkāra. London 1891.

JA = Journal Asiatique.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRASBom = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Kashmir Rep. = Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir, Rajputana and and Central India (Extra no. *JRASBom* 1877). Bombay 1877. As regards Bühler's other Reports and Lists, the references are as in Aufrecht.

Kathvate = Kathvate's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95. Bombay 1901.

Kavi. vacana. samuc. = *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya* ed. F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind. 1912.

Kāvyamālā = Kāvyamālā Series published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay.

KBod = A. B. Keith's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Appendix to vol. i. Oxford 1909.

Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81 = Kielhorn's Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81. Bombay 1881.

Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* = Kielhorn's Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Central Provinces. Nagpur 1874. Kielhorn's other reports and lists are given as in Aufrecht.

KM = Kāvyamālā publications in 14 gucchakas, also referred to as Kāvyamālā in parts.

Lévi = Lévi's *Théâtre indien*, Paris 1890 (unless otherwise indicated).

Madras Cat. = A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by S. Kuppusvāmī Śāstrī. Vol. xxii (dealing with works on Alaṃkāra). Madras 1918.

Madras Trm A, B and *C* = A Triennial Catalogue of MSS, collected during the Triennium 1910-11 and 1912-13 for the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by M. Raṅgācārya and S. Kuppusvāmī Śāstrī. Vol i (A, B, C). Madras 1913.

Mitra = Rajendralāla Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. i-x. Calcutta 1871-90.

N. S. P. = Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, and its edition of Sanskrit works.

Oppert = Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS in the Private Libraries in Southern India. i Madras 1880: ii Madras 1885.

Peterson = Peterson's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS, as follows i 1882-83; ii 1883-84; iii 1884-86; iv 1886-92; v 1892-95; vi 1895-97. Bombay 1883-99.

Rep. = Report.

Rice = Rice's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore 1884.

Regnaud = Regnaud's *Rhétorique Sanskrite.* Paris 1884.

Śārṅgadhara = *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati,* ed. Peterson in B. S. S.

Sb. der Preuss. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sb. der Wiener Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SCB = Lists of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS deposited in the Benares Sanskrit College, comprising collections 1897-1901, 1904-05, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1914-15. Allahabad. Separately published 1902-15.

SCC = Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College by Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstrī and Śivacandra Guin. Vol vii (dealing with Alaṃkāra works). Calcutta 1904.

SgŚ = Śeṣagiri Śāstrī's Reports on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. i 1898; ii 1899. Madras.

Sl = Śloka.

Sten Konow = Sten Konow's Indische Drama (in the Grundriss Series), Berlin and Leipzig 1920.

Stein or *Jammu Cat.* = Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Ragunāth Temple Library of the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir. Bombay 1894.

Subhāṣ° = Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* ed. Peterson in B. S. S.

Ulwar = Peterson's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar. Bombay 1892.

WBod = Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library vol. ii, begun by M. Winternitz and completed by Keith. Oxford 1905.

Weber = Weber's Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. I 1853; II pt. i 1886, pt. ii 1888, pt. iii 1892. Berlin 1853-92.

Wilson or *Select Specimens* = Wilson's *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus,* 3rd ed. London 1871.

WRAS = Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS in the Royal Asiatic Society. London 1902.

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft.

References to Jalhaṇa's anthology are as in the Index of verses given in Bhandarkar's *Rep.* 1887-91, pp. 115f; to *Saduktikarṇâmṛta* as in Thomas's pref. to *Kavîndra-vacana*. Obvious abbreviations of texts referred to (e.g. *Kāv. prak.* = *Kāvya-prakāśa*) are not given in this list; but the texts are often quoted only with the author's name, e.g. Daṇḍin = Daṇḍin's *Kāvyâdarśa*. Other Reports and Catalogues are cited as in Aufrecht.

INDEX

OF AUTHORS AND WORKS ON ALAṄKĀRA CITED IN THIS WORK

(*The figures indicate references to pages*)

1. AUTHORS

2. WORKS

N. B.—There are numerous passing references to some of these works and authors: but the figures in the index indicate the places where they are dealt with or cited independently.

ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	INCORRECT	CORRECT
8	2 (fn)	*npamānam*	*upamānam*
14	19	*upanāya*	*upanaya*
15	23	Āpastambha	Āpastamba
16	9	*Aṇguttara*	*Aṅguttara*
18	12	some what	somewhat
19	5	*Vāsavattāda*	*Vāsavadattā*
19	15 (fn)	pp.	p.
19	21 (fn)	Levi	Lévi
20	9	(5)	(6)
20	2 (fn)	*ecole, extreme*	*école, extrême*
22	10	respectivly	respectively
36	13	prevelant	prevalent
38	12	Ajitapīḍa	Ajitāpīḍa
44	22	per	par
44	18	Text	Texte
44	26	Fruhgeschichte	Frühgeschich
44	32	numberles	numberless

47	17	are	is
48	17	repitition	repetition
52	8	prevelant	prevalent
59	21	Nṛptuṅga	Nṛpatuṅga
70	15	acknowledge-ment	acknowledg-ment
71	2 (fn)	p. 44	p. 447
72	38	Hastimall	Hastimalla
76	7	commetator	commentator
77	4	213	223
90	5 (fn)	in	is
90	10 (fn)	thes	the
93	25	fespectively	respectively
94	1 (fn)	stpnzas	stanzas
94	13 (fn)	on ground	on the ground
95	11 (fn)	Ruyyka	Ruyyaka
95	14 (fn)	*Śṛṅgrā*	*Śṛṅgāra*
96	15	*Rudraṭlâṃkāra*	*Rudraṭâlaṃ-kāra*
112	22	in middle	in the middle
137	28	Hālā	Hāla
144	16	in	is
144	6 (fn)	Bilhaṇu's au-thor-	Bilhaṇa's auth-or-
148	17	encyclopeadic	encyclopaedic
153	16	clearrly	clearly
154	10	Śaṅkuka's	Śaṅkuka
154	21	the	*śl*
155	30	*vyaktviveka-*	*vyaktiviveka-*
158	10	later the	later than the
162	17	indipendent	independent
168	8	*kārkiās*	*kārikās*
176	10	the last	than the last
180	10 (fn)	*-ken*	*-kena*
182	10	who	as
189	12	*Kāvypurakāśa*	*Kāvya-prakāśa*

190	2 (fn)	*Sahṛdyalīlā*	*Sahṛdaya-līlā*
190	9 (fn)	commetators	commentators
208	24 & 29	Granthamālā viii	Granthamālā iii
213	7 (fn)	*matkṛa-*	*matkṛta-*
213	8 (fn)	-parimalatas	-parimalatas
248	24	one the	one of the
252	20	for the whom	for whom
263	17	opinions	opinion
268	5	*auūrur*	*anūrur*
272	32	*vyākhyana*	*vyākhyāna*
275	1 (fn)	*navīm*	*navīnam*
275	13 (fn)	is different	is a different
275	15 (fn)	our	to our

N. B:—A few more misprints, especially regarding diacritical marks have unfortunately crept in; but as they are obvious they have not been indicated here. The letter ṛ throughout has not been distinct and sometimes have entirely broken down in printing. The letters ṣ and ṃ in the proper names in ch. xxix have been wrongly printed as s and m. The name Haricand has been printed inadvertantly as Haricānd throughout.